

The Many Lives
of
Pascual de Gayangos
(1809-1897)

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I declare

- a) I have composed this PhD thesis entitled *The many Lives of Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897)*.
- b) This PhD is entirely my own work.
- c) This thesis has not been submitted for any other professional qualification.

Abstract

The subject of this thesis is the Spanish scholar Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897). He lived without doubt one of the most fascinating lives within the nineteenth-century international fraternity of scholarship. He was not only patriotic, versatile, industrious and international, but also a very generous scholar, who made key contributions to Anglo-American Hispanism. This study is however not a mere biographical account. The figure of Gayangos provides an interesting looking glass in which to examine the progress of ideas on Spain within Britain and North America. He is a peg upon which to hang all aspects of the British-American appropriation of Spanish culture. The Introduction presents the reader with the subject and provides a survey of the current views on Gayangos and the general consensus concerning the birth and progress of British-American Hispanism. Chapter One starts by giving a first insight into his robust personality, intellectual versatility and patriotism. Chapter Two examines how British intellectuals became interested in him, as scholar and patriot, and how Gayangos was busily engaged in a whirl of social, intellectual and political life at Holland House, which served him as a platform for networking. Chapter Three is concerned with his scholarship in Britain, his drive for 'hard fact' and the influence of his writings on Hispanism. Chapter Four shows how Gayangos became a source of inspiration, encouragement and advice on the 'cosas de España' to British intellectuals. Chapters Five, Six and Seven are specific studies examining Gayangos' key contributions to the three most outstanding Hispanists of the Victorian era: Prescott, Ticknor and Stirling. It is argued that their books would not have been of the same quality, and some could not have been written at all, without Gayangos. He was an essential force in laying the

foundation stones of Spanish studies in Britain and America. Reflections as to how and why Gayangos became such an indispensable aid will be offered. Chapter Eight draws conclusions on the nature of Gayangos' relationship with the Anglo-American Hispanists, and how his collaborations enhanced his own career. Gayangos was not merely used by others. He was a pro-active, creative scholar in his own right, a man whose cumulative expertise, intellectual breadth and influence upon others, made him the pre-eminent apologist for Spanish culture in a century which witnessed the discovery and recovery of the Golden Age.

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Abbreviations

Archives

AGA	Archivo General de Administración, Alcalá de Henares
AH	Archivos Históricos de Protocolo, Madrid
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum Archives, London
BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BODL	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BPL	Boston Public Library
HSA	Hispanic Society of America, New York
ME	Ministerio de Educación, Madrid
MLG	Mitchell Library, Glasgow
MHS-P	Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston), Prescott Papers
NRA-S	National Register Archives, Scotland, Edinburgh
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society, London
UE	University of Edinburgh
UCL-SDUK	University of London, Papers of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge

Magazines

BBMP	Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo
BRAH	Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia
REAM	Revista Española de Ambos Mundos
RABM	Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos
RH	Revue Hispanique



Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897)

Signed José Sanchez Pescador,
copy after an earlier portrait by Valentin Carderera [1849]
Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid

Introduction: A study in intellectual curiosity

Pascual de Gayangos (1808-1897; plate I) was the first really international Spanish scholar. He was born in Seville, but spent his life moving between France, Spain and Britain, and travelled extensively through Europe, and to a lesser extent North Africa. He was not only cosmopolitan, but also a most versatile scholar, who after having received a first rate education under the foremost Orientalist of his day, Silvestre de Sacy, set out to work on a series of important scholarly projects connected with the history, literature and arts of Spain. Some of them were to become landmarks in Spanish studies, such as the *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, by Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, translated by Pascual de Gayangos (1840-43, republished in 2001). This represented the first translation into English of an Arabic chronicle that gave an account of Spain's Islamic past from the 'other side', that is from the perspective of the Moors. Gayangos emerges as a man with many different identities, at once: historian, linguist, editor, bibliophile, book-dealer, numismatist, copyist, perhaps even a secret agent or spy, an eager and indefatigable researcher with an instinctive gift for unearthing unknown literary treasures, and a generous consultant always ready to help anyone with studies of Spanish culture.

Gayangos was involved with scholarly institutions: for example, in Britain with the Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was a member, and even sat for some time on the committee.¹ In Spain, Gayangos contributed to the

¹ RAS, *Minutes of the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund*, vol. Sept 1836–Jan 1848: Gayangos sat on the committee on 29/11/1838. In 1839: 18/1, 7/3, 18/4, 3/5, 4/7, 22/8. In 1840: 30/1, 17/6. In 1841: 3/12, 25/2, 27/6. In 1842: 21/1. In 1843: 8/3

deliberations of the *Real Academia de la Historia*. His literary reputation brought him honorary membership of numerous historical societies in Europe, North and South America, where he was acquainted with some of the most outstanding intellects of the time, many of whom relied on his help. In short, he moved in the American and European intellectual world with an ease enviable today. He even occasionally flirted with the world of politics. As a young man he was a regular at the most stimulating salon in Regency and early Victorian Britain: Holland House, where he mixed with those pre-eminent in Whig society. His acquaintance with British diplomats and ambassadors even led him to provide the British Legation in Madrid with privileged information. Late in life Gayangos was invited to the inauguration of the Suez Canal as the representative of the Spanish government. Finally, at the age of seventy-two, he was appointed member of the Senate in Madrid. Yet, for all these excursions into politics, his life was fully dedicated to scholarship, a world in which he was regarded as "one of the most pre-eminent scholars now living."² He became the first professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid and is considered today as the founder of the modern school of Arabic studies in Spain. In Spain, he is also celebrated as an extraordinary bibliophile, whose collection of Arabic and Spanish manuscripts and books, now divided between the *Real Academia de la Historia*, and the *Biblioteca Nacional*, represents a corner-stone of Spanish national collections. In Britain, Gayangos' four-volume *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, printed for the first time in 1875, is still the starting point for any Hispanist researching the British Library. The more one researches, the more interesting, and at the same time, intriguing Gayangos

² TICKNOR, *History of Spanish Literature*, ed. 1863, p. xiv

becomes. His figure has fascinated many scholars interested in historiography, and a biography of Gayangos is now called for.

My interest in Gayangos began with research work for an MSc dissertation on British nineteenth-century responses to Seville's Golden Age culture. I noticed that any researcher interested in the discovery and interpretation of Spain would automatically come across the name 'Gayangos'. His correspondence and references to him are scattered throughout the papers and books of British and American men of letters. Nineteenth-century references to both his generosity and knowledge of Spanish culture abound. For example, a British collector of Spanish art and books once described Gayangos as a "rare literary Samaritan to all those interested in ... Spain."³ A methodical search through the papers of nineteenth-century Hispanists showed that all those writers who created British-American Hispanism, admitted that they depended on Gayangos' assistance. Gayangos' involvement with the work of others automatically provoked questions: How did these intellectuals depend on him? How significant was Gayangos therefore to the advancement of Spanish studies in Britain and America altogether? Gayangos' generosity and kindness towards other Hispanists is a rather startling phenomenon. Why would a first rate scholar spend so much time stimulating, inspiring and enabling others to gain the laurels which might have been his? What cast of mind did he have which induced him to give important manuscript material away instead of attempting to use it for some publication of his own? What were his motives? Was it his love of the subject, for scholarship perhaps, or Spain, or simply money? What were the circumstances in which he operated and

³ F.W.Cosens to William Carew Hazlitt, Dec 6 1868, BL, Add. 38900, ff. 213-215

how did these influence him? Gayangos' facet as an 'enabler', a source of inspiration and encouragement and ultimately an indispensable aid to British American Hispanists is one which seems to defy comparison. His role in Britain and America is a most fascinating one, yet little studied.

Whilst the role of Gayangos in British American Hispanism has been neglected, we do know a lot about him. Though allusive, he is not an obscure figure. Despite the absence of a full biography, Gayangos has received attention: in Spain, America and Britain. He was the subject of a series of articles from the late nineteenth century onwards, giving brief surveys of his life and work. The article included in the *Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano de literatura, ciencias y artes* (Barcelona, 1892) is the earliest. Upon Gayangos' unfortunate death following a street accident in London in 1897, many obituary notices were published in different periodicals in Britain, France and Spain. He is mentioned in the *Ilustración Española y Americana* by Eduardo Saavedra, in *La Epoca* and in the *Diario de Barcelona*.⁴ The obituaries in *El Imparcial*, *El Liberal*, *La Correspondencia de España* closely followed the notice in the above mentioned *Diccionario enciclopédico*.⁵ Gayangos is also mentioned in French and English sources, such as in the *Revue Encyclopedique Larousse, Supplément Chronique Universelle*, which includes a portrait.⁶ In London, several obituary notices were

⁴ SAAVEDRA, Eduardo, "Pascual de Gayangos y Arce", *Ilustración Española y Americana*, no. 38, 15 October 1897, pp.226-7. Also, *La Epoca*, 8 October 1897; *Diario de Barcelona*, no 285, 12 October 1897.

⁵ October 1897: *El Imparcial*, no. 10934; *El Liberal*, no. 6579; *La Correspondencia de España*, no 14489

⁶ *Revue Encyclopédique Larousse, Supplément Chronique Universelle*, October 1897, pp. 74-75

published too.⁷ All give a brief survey of Gayangos' life: born in 1809 in Seville, he was educated in France, where he studied Arabic under Silvestre de Sacy; in 1828 he married an English woman and then obtained a post as translator and interpreter of Arabic with the government in Madrid. Thereafter he came to England, where he was received at Holland House, and wrote articles for the *Edinburgh Review*. On his return to Spain in 1843, he was appointed Professor of Arabic at the University in Madrid. Later in 1881 he became *Director de Instrucción Pública* (the equivalent of Chief Inspector of Education in Spain) but resigned almost immediately on becoming a member of the Senate; and he spent his later life in London. These notices vary in detail, and often are not very reliable.⁸ Nevertheless all the articles single out Gayangos' status as Orientalist, "*un sabio orientalista, de fama universal*",⁹ whose "*autoridad de arabista era indiscutible*".¹⁰ The author of the notice in *Revista de Ciencias y Letras* hoped: "*¡Decanse en paz el sabio ilustre y pase su nombre del libro de la vida al libro de la historia!*"¹¹ A newspaper in Bogota praised him as one of the most notable professors of Arabic in Europe, who defended Oriental studies "*con singular tesón*", and also did much for Spanish literature, by annotating and editing many rare books.¹² Five months after Gayangos' death, a notice in a Seville newspaper indicated that the *Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* wished to name one of Seville's streets after Gayangos, who had been born in the city.¹³ Most articles agreed that his most important achievements were: *The History of the Mohammedan Dyasties in Spain* (1840-1843); his translation of Ticknor's *History of*

⁷ *The Times* (9 October 1897); *Literature* (23 October 1897) also included obituaries

⁸ E.g., "Don Pascual de Gayangos", *El Liberal*, 7 October 1897

⁹ "España", *El Nacionalista de Bogotá*, n.d., 1897, RAH, Gayangos papers, Folder I

¹⁰ "Don Pascual de Gayangos", *Revista de Ciencias y Letras*, 25 Oct 1897, p. 5

¹¹ *Idem*.

¹² "España", *El Nacionalista de Bogotá*, n.d., 1897, RAH, Gayangos papers, Folder I

¹³ "Tributo merecido", *El Noticiero Sevillano*, 28 Jan 1898.

Spanish Literature (1849) and the *Catalogue of the Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1875). The English obituary notice in the *Athenaeum* first gave a sense of Gayangos' importance to Spanish studies in Britain. There Gayangos is praised as a most amiable person "devoid of personal ambition", always eager to help his friends and students, and at ease within English societies. The author stresses Gayangos' generous relationship with Anglo-American intellectuals: Henry Spencer Ashbee, whom Gayangos assisted in the completion of his *Iconography of Don Quixote*; and George Ticknor, for whom Gayangos collected materials for his *History of Spanish Literature*.¹⁴ The contribution to Ticknor's book (1849), which became the standard book on Spanish literature, was perceived as significant. In another obituary, James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, author of *A New History of Spanish Literature*, went further claiming boldly that it would be "no exaggeration to say that Ticknor's 'History' could scarcely have been written without Gayangos' aid."¹⁵ All these notices give us a first sense of Gayangos' chronology and suggest his importance.

Much more ambitious than these brief notices however was the article by Pedro Roca, who gave a first detailed commentary on Gayangos' life up to 1848.¹⁶ His account, written with the purpose of commemorating Gayangos, was published in a series of articles in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (1897-99). Roca is valuable for information extracted from private correspondence, which portrayed Gayangos as extremely industrious, not without humour and at home in Britain, France and Spain. Roca also suggests how Gayangos was extremely frustrated with

¹⁴ *Athenaeum*, 16 October 1897, no. 651, p. 529

¹⁵ FITZMAURICE-KELLY, "Biographical notice", *Revue Hispanique*, n° 12, November 1897, pp.337

¹⁶ ROCA, "Noticia de la Vida y Obras de D.Pascual de Gayangos", *RABM*, I-III: 1997, pp.544-556; 1898, pp. 13-32, 70-82, 110-130, 362-568; 1899, pp. 101-106

the state of scholarship and politics in Spain. He provides information on Gayangos' sojourn in Britain between 1837 and 1843 and indicates for the first time, how Gayangos met George Ticknor at Holland House.¹⁷ Many of Gayangos' contributions to British magazines and reviews are enumerated. Roca comments in detail on Gayangos' main works till the late 1840s (*The History of Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain* and *Cronica del Moro Rasis*); thereby pointing out Gayangos' importance to Arabic studies in Spain. Roca's article stops with the year 1848 leaving the rest of Gayangos' life in obscurity. Yet it became the main source of information on the first half of Gayangos' life for all those who subsequently wrote on him.

Roca's article already contained extracts from Gayangos' correspondence with his Spanish friends: Santiago Masarnau, Serafin Estébanez Calderón and Basilio Castellanos. Estébanez Calderón's letters to Gayangos had been published during Gayangos' life time in *El Solitario y su tiempo* (Madrid, 1883), the biography of Estébanez Calderón by Antonio Canovas del Castillo. Since then much more of Gayangos' Spanish correspondence has been edited within the last century. In 1948 José Simón Díaz edited letters by Gayangos to his friend Basilio Castellanos, professor of Archaeology and Numismatics at the *Ateneo* in Madrid. The letters covering the period from 1837 to 1841 complement Roca's article. They reveal: Gayangos' interests in numismatics; details about payment for Gayangos' contribution to Owen Jones' *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of Alhambra*; the success of his *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. We also learn

¹⁷ ROCA, 1898, II, p. 25

about a slander, not mentioned by Roca: Gayangos had been accused of having stolen manuscript material from the *Biblioteca Nacional*. This he vehemently rejected. Despite the upset induced by such calumny, Gayangos felt nostalgic about Spain and was determined to leave London to become the Spanish vice-consul in Tunis. Simón Díaz also edited Gayangos' correspondence with Francisco de Borja Pavón, a bibliophile from Córdoba, between 1849 and 1881, the period not discussed by Roca. The letters are important to Gayangos' activities in Spain. They give entertaining, mock-heroic accounts of his travels undertaken throughout the Spanish provinces in search of books, manuscripts and coins. They reveal that Gayangos was also involved in the project to excavate Medina Az-Zahra, the great ruined Umayyad palatial city, near Córdoba, which unfortunately failed because of political and administrative obstructions.¹⁸

Almost ten years after Simón Díaz' edition, Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino published Gayangos' letters to Adolfo de Castro, covering the years 1849-1862, again years not considered by Roca. They bring to life Gayangos' warm relationship with de Castro, a young writer and editor from Cadiz, author of *Historia de los protestantes españoles y de su persecución por Felipe II (1851)* and *Historia de los judíos en España (1847)*. Gayangos himself described this friendship as "picaresca". Adolfo de Castro was also one of the most controversial figures in nineteenth-century Spain. He edited the *Buscapié*, a work said to be by Cervantes, but in fact de Castro's own forgery.¹⁹ Gayangos' comes across as a fatherly and protective figure to the young De Castro, and also one who was capable of biting wit. The

¹⁸ DÍAZ, José Simón, "Aportación documental para la erudición española. Epistolario de don Pascual de Gayangos", Suplemento no 1, *Revista Bibliográfica y Documental*, Madrid, II, 1948, no 4, octubre-diciembre, pp. 1-31

¹⁹ RODRIGUEZ-MOÑINO, Antonio, "Epistolario de don Pascual de Gayangos con don Adolfo de Castro (1848-1861)", *BRAH, CXLI*, 1957, pp. 287-329

correspondence further shows how Gayangos was not only interested in the Moorish facet of Spain, but also in the post-Moorish period.

In 1997, Mar Vilar published further primary material from the Foreign Office revealing more details on Gayangos' early government employment in Málaga and Madrid between 1832 and 1836.²⁰ Some new facts emerged as to Gayangos' relationship with his employers and also his temperament "*un tanto soberbio y arrogante*". It showed that Gayangos' had an independent and determined mind.²¹ Other published correspondence has revealed more information on Gayangos' role as an Arabist in Spain. In 1975 Bernabé López García edited a series of letters from other younger Arabists: Francisco Codera, Gayangos disciple and follower,²² and Francisco Fernández y González, author of *Plan de una biblioteca de autores árabes españoles, ó Estudios biográficos y bibliográficos para servir á la historia de la literatura árabe en España* (1861).

Several scholars started to consider Gayangos' role as an Arabist more in the context of nineteenth-century Spain. Manuela Manzanares de Cirre in her article "Don Pascual de Gayangos y los estudios árabes" (1963) defined Gayangos as the true founder of the modern school of Arabists within Spain. De Cirre relied heavily on Roca's article for the data of Gayangos' life and did not add any new biographical details. However, she reviewed Gayangos' later writings and research, concluding that Gayangos promised more than he delivered. She also put emphasis on Gayangos' extraordinary collection of rare books and manuscripts. In 1970, Thomas

²⁰ VILAR, Mar, "Pascual de Gayangos, traductor e intérprete de inglés y otras lenguas extranjeras en el Ministerio de Estado (1833-1837)", *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo* 73, 1997, 43-47

²¹ *ibid.*, p.44

²² LOPEZ GARCIA, "Cartas inéditas de Francisco Codera a Pascual de Gayangos" (Reivindicación de una figura del arabismo", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* XXIV, 1975, 29-68

Monroe considered Gayangos in his book *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship*.²³ Like Manzanares de Cirre, Monroe added nothing to the biographical details of Gayangos' life, and qualified Gayangos as "one of the most distinguished Arabists". He pointed out that Gayangos was writing for a broad public and that his rearranging of the *Al Makkari* manuscript in a more comprehensive form made the book more enjoyable and therefore at the time acceptable. However, Monroe's article goes further than that of Manzanares de Cirre. For the first time Gayangos was placed in the context of Arabist studies in Spain from the Renaissance onwards. He drew attention to how Spanish Arabism was closely linked with ideas of national identity. While British, German or French scholars could afford a detached perspective towards Oriental issues, Spanish Arabists were confronted with their own past, and with the issues of national identity. Many of those in favour of the new Constitution of 1812 saw the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors as a direct cause of the decline of Spain. Monroe was the first to place Gayangos within an ideological context and in relation to other thinkers, such as Larra, a satirical essayist and a French-educated Spaniard of the period. According to Monroe, Gayangos' attitude was 'liberal' and different from the conservative attitudes of Arabists that marked the second half of the century. They saw Spain as a Catholic country, which had been obliged to expel the people - the Moors - who contributed little. Gayangos, Monroe claimed, had lived too long abroad to be bound by a narrow form of nationalism.

Further articles on Gayangos as an Arabist followed. In 1984, Juan Bautista Vilar Ramirez wrote on Gayangos' pioneering role as Arabist in the field of

²³ MONROE, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 66-83. I am indebted to Professor Nigel Glendinning for drawing my attention to this book.

numismatics,²⁴ and in 1997, published an article adding to the information on Gayangos' trip to North Africa in 1848, where books, manuscripts, coins and other items were purchased.²⁵

Other scholars wrote on Gayangos' capacity as a collector of Castilian (not Arabic) literature. Manuel Carrion Gutiez (1986) drew attention to the significance of Gayangos' collection of books and manuscripts in the *Biblioteca Nacional*.²⁶ Also in 1986, Francisco Lopez Estrado commented on Gayangos' importance to medieval Spanish literature.²⁷ Most recently Cristina Alvarez Millán has done further significant work to demonstrate how important Gayangos was, not only to the study, but to the very conservation, of Spain's bibliographic treasures. The study of a series of hitherto unpublished letters led her to the conclusion that Gayangos was not, as sometimes has been insinuated by others, anti-patriotic, and a *bibliopirata*, but rather the opposite: an intellectual extremely interested in the conservation and restoration of books and manuscripts.²⁸

The consideration of Gayangos' role in Britain and America has mostly been confined to the edition of a selection of correspondence. However, there is no consensus about how important Gayangos really was in the English speaking world and thus the purpose of what follows is to provide just that. In 1927, Clara Louisa

²⁴ VILAR, "El Arabista Pascual de Gayangos en los orígenes de la ciencia numismática española. Su viaje a París y Londres en 1835", *Sharq al-Andalus* 1, 1984, pp. 161-165

²⁵ VILAR, "El viaje de Pascual de Gayangos a Marruecos en 1848 en busca de manuscritos y libros árabes", *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo* 73, 1997, pp. 29-41

²⁶ CARRION GUTIEZ, "Pascual de Gayangos y los libros", *Documentación de las Ciencias de la Información* VII, 1985, pp.71-90

²⁷ LOPEZ ESTRADA, "Pascual de Gayangos y la literatura medieval castellana", *Alfinge* 4, 1986, pp.1-29

²⁸ ALVAREZ MILLÁN, "A propósito de dos cartas enviadas a la Real Academia de la Historia: Pascual de Gayangos y el patrimonio bibliográfico español", *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, Madrid, n° 24, 2003, pp.3-32

Penny edited letters to Gayangos from Ticknor and Prescott.²⁹ Penny argued that Gayangos was important to both, but warned that Gayangos' contributions "should not be magnified" and that he was more a bibliophile and less a creative worker.³⁰ By 1959 Harvey Gardiner re-examined Gayangos' relationship with Prescott, stating that Gayangos was an "indispensible aid".³¹ In 1974, Richard Hitchcock edited *Letters to Gayangos by Richard Ford*, suggesting that Gayangos' collaboration with Ford was more important than hitherto recognised.³² Ian Robertson, the latest and probably the definitive biographer of Ford, frequently mentioned Gayangos as Ford's close friend and collaborator, however without demonstrating how dependent Ford was on Gayangos. In 1985 Calderón Quijano edited most of the correspondence of Gayangos, and Gayangos' daughter, Emilia, in the archives in the British Library: letters to Frederick Madden (1801-1873), Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum between 1837 and 1866; Austin Henry Layard (1817-1894), diplomatist, man of letters, and excavator of Nineveh; Henry Spencer Ashbee (1834-1900), bibliophile and unrivalled collector of erotica in Victorian Britain. The editor suggested that Gayangos was somehow important to these men, but did not specify how.³³ In 1996, Angus Fraser suggested in a short but interesting article that Gayangos assisted George Borrow (1801-1881) with the purchase of books and

²⁹ PENNEY, *George Ticknor: Unpublished Letters to Gayangos*, 1927; and *William H. Prescott: Unpublished Letters to Gayangos*, 1927.

³⁰ PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii

³¹ GARDINER, "Prescott's Most Indispensable Aide: Pascual de Gayangos," *The Hispanic American Historical review (HAHR)*, Vol.xxxix, no 1, February 1959, pp.93-99

³² HITCHCOCK, *Letters to Gayangos by Richard Ford*. Transcribed and annotated by Richard Hitchcock, University of Exeter 1974

³³ CALDERÓN QUIJANO, "Correspondencia de D. Pascual de Gayangos y de su hija Emilia G. de Riaño en el Museo Británico", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. 182.2, 1985, 217-308

manuscripts in Spain.³⁴ In a footnote to *The Complete Works of Washington Irving*, Gayangos is described as a “student of Arabic language” and a “scribe in Spain for Ticknor and Prescott”.³⁵ In short, many suggestions have been made over the last eighty years that Gayangos was somehow important to all the most seminal British and American Hispanists. Opinions seem to vary, but one thing is certain; there is no extant synoptic account of Gayanos and the English-speaking scholarship on Spain. This is what my thesis provides. There is then confusion as to how to situate Gayangos and this thesis responds to Mar Vilar’s epitome of the state of scholarship on Gayangos:

*no ha sido suficientemente estudiada y valorada la destacada contribución de Gayangos al nacimiento y desarrollo del hispanismo en el mundo anglosajón - en Gran Bretaña en primer lugar, pero también en los Estados Unidos.*³⁶

What is this thesis going to do? It covers the life of Gayangos *in toto*. One of the main challenges is to amalgamate Gayangos’ multiple identities into a unified account. Within the American and British context, he emerges as a historian, an editor, a bibliophile, an archivist, a translator, a book-dealer, a numismatist, a collaborator, a source of inspiration, encouragement and advice to British and American scholars, and someone interested in art. If we wish to understand the impact of Gayangos on Anglo-American Hispanism, it is impossible to do this if just “one” of Gayangos’ identities is considered. Whilst what follows focuses on the English-speaking world, the importance of Gayangos in his own country is not lost. However, it should be stated that limitations of space demand emphasis on the

³⁴ FRASER, “Los olvidados colaboradores de George Borrow en España”, *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, n°523, February 1996, pp. 39-55. Borrow’s other assistants were Estébanez Calderón; Luis de Usóz y Río was his main assistant.

³⁵ *The Complete Works of Washington Irving. Letters*, Volume 3, Ed. by DILWORTH RUST, Richard, Boston, p.462, n.2

³⁶ VILAR, Mar, 1997, p.45

'English' and 'American' dimension. My aim is to demonstrate how Gayangos was central to the advancement of Spanish culture in Britain and North America. The contributions Gayangos made to a growing understanding of Spanish South America are excluded for reasons of space and coherence. This is a study of one man, and much new biographical data is included. However, it is not a comprehensive account of a life in a chronological order. Whilst an overview of that life is indeed given in chapter one, what follows is concerned with intellectual growth. In order to discern Gayangos' originality and modernity, qualitative comparisons are made. This thesis aims to offer the broadest account yet of the intellectual trajectory of a figure central to the cultural life of nineteenth-century Spain and Britain. Yet, the conclusion will offer a reflective dimension: how American and British contacts promoted his career in Spain too.

More broadly, I contribute to and yet also challenge current views on the historiography of Spanish studies in Britain and America. Orthodoxy attributes the development of Hispanism in Britain to circumstantial factors: the Peninsular War; the presence of the Spanish exiles in Britain; the import of art and literature into Britain; and not least, the impetus given by the stimulus of a few men of letters: Southey, Ford, Stirling, Ticknor and Prescott. Current consensus suggests that intellectual interest in Spain was awakened during the Peninsula War. Then Britain and Spain joined forces against the troops of Napoleon who occupied Spain between 1808 and 1812. Thereafter the relationship between Britain and Spain grew closer, when many Spanish liberal intellectuals were forced to leave Spain in 1814 and again in 1823. Most sought exile in London, where they encouraged the taste for Spain, by teaching Spanish, and they published articles on Spanish history or literature. As the

result of the Peninsula War, the monastic collections of books, manuscripts and paintings became more vulnerable. Some British collectors and art dealers made their way into Spain, where books and art could be easily acquired. In addition, in 1836, the rich collections of the monasteries disintegrated as the result of the dissolution. The culture of Spain became mobile, accessible and attractive beyond the frontier. Much has been written on British and American travellers in Spain in the first half of the century. Spain, as an unexplored country, attracted many writers looking for adventure and the picturesque. Spanish exotic culture and outlandish customs were transformed into popular literature eagerly snapped up by an avid reading public in Britain, the US and France. The pre-railroad years between 1820 and 1850 marked a highpoint in travel writing on Spain, which made Spain accessible to the armchair tourist. Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and at home* (1845) remains the only one in English still read today. More books on Spanish history, literature and art emerged too, setting out the parameters for further academic study. However, Gayangos is scarcely mentioned in any account of the progress of Hispanism. This thesis challenges this point of view by suggesting that the historiographer of Anglo-American Hispanism must integrate Gayangos as a key figure, otherwise his story is deficient.

A substantial body of new primary material found in the archives in Spain, Britain and North America supports this thesis. Gayangos' papers and correspondence at the *Real Academia de la Historia* give more biographical details, revealing Gayangos' position as a bridge between the *Academia* and foreign scholars. This material contains much information on Gayangos' relationship with

British Orientalists and Hispanophiles. From the papers in the University archives of Alcalá de Henares new data has emerged regarding Gayangos' university career and his frequent leaves of absences, including a research trip to Britain on behalf of the Spanish Foreign Office who wished to find manuscripts regarding Spain's right over its colonies in South America. Material in the *Biblioteca Nacional* represents a wealth of data regarding Gayangos' activities as a bibliophile and historian, as well as new light on his connections with Stirling and the bibliomaniac Thomas Phillipps. Gayangos' own notes and lists are testimonies to the scope of his learning and working methods.

The British archives are also rich in material: the Bodleian houses the Phillipps papers. The correspondence of Lord Clarendon, British ambassador to Spain, also in the Bodleian, contains most intriguing references to Gayangos' services for the British Legation. They provoke further questions about the nature of Gayangos' relationship with his native country and to Britain. Was he a spy? To which extent was he a patriot? And what were his motives? The British Museum contains new material that suggest Gayangos contributed to the building up of the collection of Spanish coins. The Mitchell Library in Glasgow houses the correspondence between Stirling and Gayangos; revealing Stirling's dependence for his historical projects. That archive is also rich in letters to and from many other intellectuals, who were in touch with Gayangos. The American archives (The Hispanic Society of America, Boston Public Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Dartmouth College) are also sources of new material on Gayangos' contemporaries and his relationship with Prescott, Ticknor and others. All this

hitherto unknown material updates current knowledge. It allows us to come to a much fuller assesement of Gayangos' role in Britain and North America.

Chapter One gives a first insight into Gayangos' life and achievements. It concerns his personality and considers his ideas within the social and historical panorama of nineteenth-century Spain. First connections with Britain, and Gayangos' multiple facets emerge here: scholar, liberal, patriot, researcher, bibliophile, and even secret agent. Chapter Two examines the development of Gayangos' connections with Britain and demonstrates how he became an *habitué* at Holland House, which he used as a platform for networking. Chapter Three is concerned with Gayangos' scholarship in Britain and its influence: Britain benefited from Gayangos' own contributions to prestigious journals and reviews: he was the first to make the British reader aware of *aljamiada* literature. He was too, the first to translate the chronicle by al-Makkari into English. He contributed to Owen Jones' *Plans, Sections and Elevations of the Alhambra* (1842), which encouraged the taste for Moorish Spain by virtue of establishing itself as one of the great fine art publications of the entire nineteenth century. Other articles, hitherto not discussed in the writings on Gayangos, demonstrate scholarly integrity and desire to promote scholarship on Moorish Spain. Chapter Four deals with Gayangos' role as a source of inspiration, encouragement and as an important consultant to anyone interested in Spain, regardless of status and reputation: from Tory Richard Ford to erotomaniac Ashbee. Chapters Five, Six and Seven are more specific studies: Gayangos as consultant to the three most outstanding Hispanists: Prescott, Ticknor and Stirling. It will be shown that the romantic view of Spanish culture, characterising the Victorian

approach to Spain, was transformed through his drive for 'hard fact'. It will be argued that without Gayangos writings of the most important English-language scholars would not have been of the same quality, and some indeed, would not have been written at all. The last Chapter offers more general reflections on Gayangos' relationship with these Hispanists.

Chapter 1: "Mi pobre patria"

"A fine-looking man, with well trimmed moustaches ... and a proper Spanish gravity;"³⁷ "always very well dressed, and curious in gloves and a cane."³⁸ This is how Gayangos' physique was described, however what lay under his outer shell was much more complicated. In order to understand his place in our world, it is essential to get a firmer grasp of what lay behind those fine looks. Hence, the purpose of this chapter is to give a first insight into the make up of his personality and his ideas within the social and historical panorama which opens with the Peninsular War and closes with the Generation of '98.

That Gayangos had a forthright personality capable of wit and humour emerges from his early presence at Britain's most stimulating but also most intimidating gathering place for eminent Whigs: Holland House. Dinner was sometimes nerve-racking and too daunting for the over-sensitive mind. It seems puzzling at first sight how Gayangos, then only twenty eight, was clearly capable of dealing with tricky guests and the very difficult, often arrogant hostess, Lady Holland, who frequently affronted her guests and even sent them away at times.³⁹ An explanation for the development of what evidently had become by 1837, a robust mind, can be found in the circumstances in which Gayangos was brought up and educated. Born and baptised in Seville in 1809, then occupied by the French,

³⁷ Charles Sumner to George Hillard, 16 February 1839, PIERCE, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, 1878, vol. 2, pp. 64-65

³⁸ Madame Calderón de la Barca, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.xxxiv

³⁹ MITCHELL, *Holland House*, 1980, p. 34.

Gayangos grew up in a period marked by political and ideological turmoil and the atrocities of the raging Peninsular War, emblematised by Goya. It was a world of uncertainty and change. A group of liberal intellectuals in Cadiz, the only unoccupied city, wrote a new constitution (1812) that gave the sovereignty to the people and reduced the power of the monarch: "*Los reyes son para el pueblo, y no el pueblo para los reyes*", envisioned Manuel Quintana, poet, writer and their intellectual leader.⁴⁰ With the help of the British under the command of the Duke of Wellington, the Spanish succeeded in liberating the Peninsula from the French, and the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, was restored to power when Gayangos just turned six. The war was over, but the liberals' vision of a new Spain was far from a reality. The king rejected the 1812 constitution and sent the liberals and the *afrancesados* (those who had supported the French) into exile, thus stripping Spain of its most capable men. The young Gayangos now lived in a stagnant country ruled by an incoherent and despotic regime, supported by the Church, and without any interest in reform. His father José Gayangos y Nesbot was appointed brigadier in the royal artillery. Shortly after, he became military governor to Zacatecas, a province in Mexico, as part of Spain's attempt to secure economic profit from the South American colonies. Before departing, José made a will leaving his possessions to his wife and two children, in case he was to die whilst in Mexico.⁴¹ He returned in 1820. By then the family resided in Madrid, but Gayangos never saw much of his father. Political turmoil and radical changes broke the family again in 1822. The bankruptcy of the monarchy triggered a revolt of the discontented army which forced Ferdinand

⁴⁰ QUINTANA, *Seminario Patriótico*, 4, 22 Sept 1808. Quoted by ALVAREZ JUNCO, *Mater Dolorosa*, 2001, p.132

⁴¹ "Testamento del Sr Don José de Gayangos y Nesbot, Brigadier de los Rl Ejercito y Gobernador electo a la provincia Zacatecas. 16 April 1815." Gayangos had a sister, Manuela. *Archivo Historico de Protocolo de Madrid*, P 23752, f.234-5

to adopt the liberal constitution of 1812; the exiles returned and together with a new generation of young liberals, took key positions in the new government. Gayangos was certainly now old enough to notice significant changes. He had finished his primary education, and enrolled in 1821 at the old Jesuit *Colegio de San Isidro*, which was now in the hands of secular teachers. Its rich library, where the celebrated American writer, Washington Irving was to undertake much research for his historical romances in the later 1820s, might have awakened in Gayangos a first curiosity for books. Unfortunately there was no time for developing this interest. In 1822 extreme reforms and changes made by the radical factions of the new government led to unrest and provoked concern abroad. The Quadruple Alliance of Britain, France, Holland and Austria at the Congress of Verona (October 1822) gave France a mandate to intervene and restore the Spanish monarchy. Spain was not a safe place. Accordingly Gayangos' parents decided to send their son to France. A year later Ferdinand restored absolutism to Spain and ruthless repression followed. The liberals were sent once more into exile, some of them left Spain for a second time. Gayangos' father died in 1823. His mother, fearful of the persecutions which followed the absolutist reaction, joined Gayangos in France. In short, Gayangos' early childhood in Spain was insecure and forced him to develop an independent and robust character.

Whilst Spain only offered chaos and turmoil, France provided a stable environment to develop talents and self-confidence. He completed his primary education at the *Collège Pont Levoy*, near Blois, located in an eleventh-century Benedictine abbey, then a leading boys-school in France. He learned Greek, and

improved his knowledge of Latin. French now became his adoptive language. In 1823, Gayangos moved to Paris and began to study Arabic under the Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838). De Sacy was the most influential figure on Gayangos' teenage years, perhaps taking the role of a father figure. It soon became clear that Gayangos would not pursue a military career and thus break with the tradition of his father's family, all of whom had been military men. Now with an enthusiastic and committed teacher, he was preparing a career as an Orientalist. De Sacy was a truly remarkable man: he had held the Chair at the *École des Langues Orientales* since its creation in 1795 and had made the *École* an established international centre for Oriental studies.⁴² De Sacy had several other official positions and enjoyed a great reputation abroad. From 1803, he was made member, and elected five times president of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. In 1806 he was appointed professor at the *Collège de France*, and in 1805 at Talleyrand's request, accepted a post as official translator from French into Arabic for the Foreign Affairs Office. This he held till 1830 with all politicians relying on his services.⁴³ He was also the first president of the *Société Asiatique* founded in 1822. De Sacy's own scholarly work is remarkable for its sheer quantity (over 434 books from 1780 to 1838) and the diversity of its subjects (literature, grammar, history). His best known works are his *Chrestomanthie arabe* and *Grammaire arabe*. His reputation went beyond France through articles in foreign journals, and his contacts with German and British orientalists. Today Silvestre de Sacy is associated with the beginning of modern Orientalism, because his work brought "an entire

⁴² See Stephen VERNOIT, "An overview of scholarship" in *Discovering Islamic Art*, London & N.Y., 2000, on the foundation of institutions in France and Britain.

⁴³ Talleyrand, 19 August 1805 quoted by DEHÉRAIN, H., *Silvestre de Sacy, ses contemporains et ses disciples*, Paris, 1939, p. viii

systematic body of texts, a pedagogic practice and a scholarly tradition" to Oriental studies.⁴⁴ As pointed out by Edward Said all of de Sacy's writings were addressed specifically to students, and often presented not as a novelty but as a revision of the best that had already been done.⁴⁵ Many of de Sacy's disciples became important Orientalists, such as Charles Rien, Keeper of Manuscripts in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts created in 1867 within the British Museum. Paris thus gave Gayangos the first rate education as an Arabist, which Spain could have never offered.⁴⁶ Too little is known about Gayangos' relationship with De Sacy after his studies with him, but there is evidence that Gayangos later consulted his master occasionally on Arabic matters. According to a letter from Gayangos to a Spanish colleague, De Sacy had encouraged him to study *aljamiado* texts:

... en Madrid, examinando algunos manuscritos que con nombre de arábigos se guardan en la Biblioteca Nacional, descubrí que la mayor parte de ellos, si bien estaban escritos en caracteres arábigos, no contenían sino relaciones en castellano o lemosín, más o menos mezclados de voces arábigas, según la educación y parte del escritor. Esta observación la comuniqué a mi difunto maestro el Barón Silvestre de Sacy, que me contestó que Conde, a su paso por París, le había hablado sobre el particular y me animó a que tratara de descifrar algunos de ellos. Así lo hice, y aunque fue operación muy laboriosa al principio, por causa de la corrupción del idioma, los adelantos que hice en poco tiempo me compensaron ampliamente de mi trabajo⁴⁷

The result was Gayangos' pioneering article "Languages and Literature of the Moriscos" (*British and Foreign Review*, 1839), discussed in Chapter Four and Six.

De Sacy not only inspired Gayangos in the choice of his career and commitment to learning, but he also provided an important example of self-

⁴⁴ SAID, *Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient*, 1995 (2nd ed.), p.124

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.125

⁴⁶ CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *El Solitario*, 1883, p.300 He recalled that Arabic studies in Spain had suffered neglect since the Peninsular War. It was taught again in 1824 by the Jesuit Father Artigas at the College of San Isidro, Madrid.

⁴⁷ ROCA, 1898, pp.563-68

confidence and independence of mind. This is demonstrated by an incident in 1795: De Sacy, a conservative, was not entirely at ease with the new regime. Upon his appointment to the chair of Arabic he refused to swear the *sermon de haine* - the oath against royalty, even at the risk of being disciplined. As no replacement could be found the government came to tolerate De Sacy's attitude and so he remained in the Chair.⁴⁸

Gayangos, although not a conservative, developed a similar robustness of mind towards government institutions and persons of high rank in the context of his native country. The first obvious sign of his independence was in the field of romance: In 1827, at the age of nineteen, he fell in love with an English girl, Frances Revell. Gayangos' mother was opposed to the idea of marriage between the two, because of her son's age (only nineteen) and difference of religion. Gayangos however left Paris for London where the young couple married in the church of St. Pancras in London: he Catholic, she Protestant.

French culture enabled Gayangos to crystallize his thoughts on the problems of his native country. Gayangos himself was too young to be a political exile, but old enough to know about the nature of the conflicts that devastated Spain and had forced him to leave. This thinking about Spain was certainly stimulated by the acquaintances he made in France, such as the French educated Spaniard Santiago Masarnau (1805-1882), whose father was a political exile.⁴⁹ The contact with liberal elements abroad helped Gayangos transform feelings of frustration into more defined ideas on Spain and its difficulties and how he might help her. From the exiles,

⁴⁸ DEHÉRAIN, 1838, pp. IV-V

⁴⁹ LLORENS, *Liberales y románticos*, 1979, 3rd ed., p. 66

Gayangos inherited a negative attitude towards the Church, which emerges from their writings, such as those by the exile Sempere y Guarinos in *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la decadence de la monarchie espagnole* published in Paris in 1826.⁵⁰ Sempere acknowledged that Catholicism was the only true faith of the Spanish people, but accused the Church and the Inquisition of being the cause of oppression and decline that had impeded progress.⁵¹ Gayangos' liberal ideas were certainly born in France through contact with Spanish exiles. Such views as he imbibed from them, were certainly encouraged within his own family: his mother had strong sympathies for the liberal cause, and his father-in-law, "Major Revell, of Round-Oak, near Windsor",⁵² was a "staunch radical". Little has emerged about Revell, but upon his death in 1842, Gayangos mentioned him not without pride in a letter to Prescott: "an excellent old man, who during his long life was a friend of the people."⁵³

When the end of Ferdinand's reign was in sight, the Spanish exiles returned hoping that the moment had come for Spain to recover from a dark period of terror. Gayangos too returned in 1830, and in this context became a main force calling for improvement and progress in scholarship, with focus on historical studies on the ill-understood and neglected Moorish period. After Ferdinand's death in 1833, Maria Christina was appointed Regent, and the liberals started to occupy key positions in the new government. However, many new problems emerged and slowed progress down: The followers of Don Carlos, Ferdinand's ultra-conservative brother, claimed

⁵⁰ ALVAREZ JUNCO, 2001, p.389

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.347. The first liberals declared in the 1812 Constitution: "La religión de la nación Española es y será perpetuamente la católica, apostólica, romana, única verdadera. La nación la protege por leyes sabias y justas y prohíbe el ejercicio de cualquier otra."

⁵² *The Times*, 12 October 1897, p.2

⁵³ Gayangos to Prescott, 12 October 1842, MHS-P

to be the rightful king on the grounds that the succession could not be handed down to a female, and a fierce conflict between the Carlists and the Cristinos broke out in 1833, concentrating at first only on the northern provinces. In addition, the new government, divided into *Moderados* and *Progresistas*, struggled internally, and reform was frustrated: for example, censorship was not abolished, access to archives was not easily obtained, and little was done to encourage scholarship.⁵⁴ Gayangos began to develop bitter feelings at this deplorable state of affairs. In 1834 he expressed strong criticism of the indifference towards Arabist scholarship by the new government in his first article in the *Westminster Review*,⁵⁵ thus bypassing Spanish censorship. It included an anecdote about a visit to the Escorial library then still administered by Catholic monks. It is worth reproducing an extract as it not only shows for the first time Gayangos' contemptuous attitude towards the authorities, but also his pronounced taste for satire:

When the visitors are known to be Spaniards and it is presumed that heresy does not lurk in their breasts, as is the case with me, who am Catholic, Apostolic, Roman, they [the monks] dare to show what they consider to be of greater value than all the works in the world put together. I remained therefore, not a little surprised upon noting that one of the Fathers, with an expressive glance, signaled me to follow him, and having led me to a sort of chapel in the same library, where, covered with a curtain and a glass, lies a book written, according to him, by the hand of Saint Augustine, he drew it forth, kissed it and handed it to me to do the same, and ... he told me to take the keys, open the bookcases and look at random for whatever I most desired. In this way, therefore, did I proceed after so benevolent an invitation, to examine the Arabic manuscripts.⁵⁶

His comments should not be interpreted as an attack on Catholicism per se. Catholicism was considered by the liberals the state religion that unified the Spanish

⁵⁴ Gayangos' position between 1833 to 1837: "Oficial nº 2 de la Oficina de Interpretación de Lenguas", see VILAR, Mar, 1997, pp. 43-47

⁵⁵ GAYANGOS, "Arabic Mss in Spain", *Westminster Review*, XXI, no 42, oct. 1, 1834, pp. 378-394

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 379

people.⁵⁷ There is no sign that Gayangos ever wished to give up his faith or to convert to Protestantism, like two other famous Spaniards, who also came to Britain: Blanco White and Luis de Usóz. Gayangos' comment is rather an attack on the Church from his chosen liberal standpoint. Gayangos portrays ecclesiastics as persons who nurtured superstition and ignorance, and made material reluctantly available only to those who were in their eyes good Spaniards supporting the Church. Gayangos had nothing but contempt for such a narrow minded nationalist attitude.

The anecdote also betrays a familiarity with the satirical essays by Mariano Larra, a French-educated Spaniard, of exactly the same age as Gayangos, who had become Spain's most refined prose stylist and the wittiest writer of the day, commenting on the social scene in Madrid.⁵⁸ Larra had exposed his liberal and anti-Carlist views for the first time in his article "*El hombre menguado*" describing the ceremonies of the proclamation of Isabel II.⁵⁹ Larra also displayed a cold aloofness towards the new regime, thus criticising it indirectly.⁶⁰ Where censorship forced Larra to restrain his criticism, Gayangos could afford to be more open as he published in Britain.⁶¹ He directly blamed the new regime for not encouraging progressive scholarship. He drew attention to the government's inefficiency and apathy by comparing it with the French and British who supported scholarship in their countries. Whilst in France and Britain whole institutions were dedicated to the

⁵⁷ "Catholic, Apostolic, Roman" recalls the 1812 Constitution: "*La religión de la nación española es y será perpetuamente la católica, apostólica, romana, única verdadera.*" ALVAREZ JUNCO, 2001, p.347

⁵⁸ On Larra, see ULLMAN, *Mariano de Larra and Spanish Political Rhetoric*, 1971. In 1828, Larra edited 5 issues of the magazine *El Duende Satirico del Dia*. His article "El café", dealing with the social scene and local colour, is the best of its genre in Spain up to that time, because of his mordant manner of criticising what he described. From 1832 to 1833, he published 14 issues of a new satirical paper *El Pobrecito Hablador*. He excelled the proficiency at eliciting double entendre in his ambiguous praise of the government.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48

subject, there was hardly anyone in Spain studying Arabic. What was more, the only available Arabic classes were given by an "ignorant Jesuit" who was incapable of attracting any disciples. Gayangos here referred to Raimundo Gasset, the last Jesuit who taught Arabic at the San Isidro College.

Gayangos argued throughout his life for the need to improve scholarship in Spain by pointing to its more advanced state outside. In a review praising a German book on medieval architecture (*Die Baukunst des christlichen Mittelalters*, 1854 by Springer),⁶² Gayangos drew attention to the lack of an equivalent Spanish book, with its detailed and clear presentation of monuments. Gayangos hoped that Springer's book would serve as an inspiring example to Spanish scholars.⁶³ He further pointed out how medieval architecture was left to decay where it was not actually destroyed. This, he argued, was due to the ignorance of the ecclesiastics:

*aquí donde la mayor parte de los edificios eclesiásticos están entregados a curas y sacristanes sin ninguna instrucción, y que así embadurnan de ocre las paredes y bóvedas de una antigua y venerable basílica, como destruyen y aniquilan bajo el más leve pretexto retablos y molduras del mayor mérito artístico.*⁶⁴

France, however, dealt much better with her patrimony. There the ecclesiastic was subject to an "*examen de arqueología cristiana, antes de ser admitidos al desempeño de su sagrado ministerio, con el fin de impedir lo que entre nosotros esta sucediendo a cada paso.*"⁶⁵ The many negative comments Gayangos made on the state of Spanish scholarship, should not be mistaken for an anti-patriotic attitude but *au*

⁶² Gayangos reviewed A. H. Springer, *Die Baukunst des christlichen Mittelalters*, Bonn, 1854, *REAM*, Vol 3, 1855, pp.247-9

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp.247-8 Gayangos thought Caveda's *Ensayo historico sobre los diversos generos de arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominación romana hasta nuestros dias*, 1849, was not satisfactory

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.248

⁶⁵ *Idem*

contraire as a sign of his concern and passion for the national heritage of Spain and as part of his appeal to intellectuals for progress and scholarship.

Gayangos' commitment to Arabic scholarship within the Spanish context is obvious in all his initiatives from the 1830s onwards. By 1833 Gayangos was employed as official translator (using Latin, German, English, French, Italian, Portuguese, Limosin, and Arabic) for the government in Madrid. But he hoped that the authorities would soon establish a University Chair of Arabic and began to promote this idea, presenting himself for this post. In this he found support from his well-connected friend and writer Serafín Estébanez Calderón (Málaga, 1799-Madrid, 1867), who he had met in Madrid in 1830 in the *Colegio de San Isidro*, where they both attended classes of Arabic taught by the old Jesuit Father Artigas.⁶⁶ By 1835 it was felt within Estébanez Calderón's circle that Spain had an obligation to cultivate Arabic and examine carefully such manuscripts as they contained a large part of the country's history:

*Ella [La restauración de los estudios árabigos] comenzó a redimirnos desde entonces de una gran vergüenza literaria; porque ¿cuál nación está más obligada que la española a cultivar una lengua y manejar unos códigos que en tanta parte contienen la historia de más de siete siglos de existencia?*⁶⁷

Gayangos took an active part in the lobbying for the creation of a chair. As early as April 1835, he applied in writing for the future position "*para la enseñanza del idioma Árabe que habrá de establecerse muy en breve.*"⁶⁸ He showed how he felt himself sufficiently qualified for the position by briefly outlining his education and his literary works up to that date. If Spain was going to establish such a chair, it

⁶⁶ On Estébanez Calderón, see his biography by CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *El Solitario y su tiempo*. Madrid, 1883

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 301

⁶⁸ Gayangos to S[u] M[ajestad], 6 April 1835, AGA, Caja 31-15827, Expediente 626 – 30

would be necessary to look outside for models. Thus in May 1835, he suggested to the government that he visit London and Paris, the centres of Orientalism, to observe how Arabic was taught abroad and to gather teaching material. His proposal was accepted. This led Gayangos to draw comparisons between Spain and Britain. He admired the state of scholarship in Britain. He not only considered the British Museum "magnificent" for its collection of Spanish manuscripts, but also for its long opening hours and accessibility to any scholar. That things in Britain were much better is confirmed by a more extensive comment from a British writer:

There [in the British Museum] he [the student] has only to ask for the manuscripts he requires. He uses them as copiously, and changes them as often as he would the books in his own library; he incurs no obligation in gaining admittance, he studies when and for as long a time as he pleases, his mind is undisturbed by fearing to encroach on the politeness of others; he meets with no obstacles, the attendants are courteous and obliging, because they know that their places depend on their behaviour. Anything more delightful in this respect than that establishment cannot be imagined.⁶⁹

What was more, the British Museum had sent a series of books through the Spanish representatives to libraries in Spain. Gayangos was impressed by all this, and therefore felt all the more angry, when he found out that the donated books had in fact never reached Madrid, due to the "*incuria o malicia de nuestros representantes. Pienso procurarme una lista de ellos [los libros], y asegurarme cuando esté en Madrid si existen o no en Madrid. ...*"⁷⁰ Gayangos' admiration for Britain on the one hand, and feelings of anger and despair but defensiveness about Spain on the other, became a permanent feature of his make-up. In 1851, whilst on a visit in London, he

⁶⁹ Nicholas Harris (*Observations on the State of Historical Literature*, 1830), in ESDAILE, *The British Museum Library*, 1946, p.91

⁷⁰ Gayangos to Castellanos, 17 July 1835, BN, Ms 21.292/19

stated: "Whenever I am in dear old England, I feel great disinclination to return to my not less beloved country. I only wish it were in many respects like this!"⁷¹

In 1836, Gayangos approached the government to draw attention, not only to the neglect of Arabic in general, but to the little recognition he received for his translations into Arabic within the *Secretaría de Interpretación de Lenguas del Ministerio de Estado*. Boldly, Gayangos directed an arrogantly aggrieved letter to the Prime Minister, Martínez de la Rosa. He confidently set the Prime Minister straight on the facts: first, his official position, for which he was paid 6000 reales annually, only required him to translate from Latin, German, English, French, Italian, Portuguese and Limosin, but *not* Arabic. Second, there was an interpreter of Arabic in the government services who earned three times more, but who only translated documents coming from North Africa. Gayangos concluded that he had wished to draw the prime minister's attention to all this so that in the future, if he refused to translate from Arabic, he would "not be considered disobedient".⁷² Gayangos' letter provoked a strong reaction. The director of the governmental interpretation services, Gayangos' superior, wrote to the Prime Minister that Gayangos had obviously forgotten that he was not more than a *Subalterno*, and furthermore, that Gayangos had muddled the facts regarding the Arabic interpreter: There had been an Arabic interpreter only under the French occupation with a salary of 18000 reales, but the last Arabic interpreter had left in 1834 and had earned only 12000 reales. Martínez

⁷¹ Gayangos to Prescott, 22 Oct 1851, MHS-P

⁷² VILAR, Mar, "Pascual de Gayangos, traductor e intérprete de inglés y otras lenguas extranjeras en el Ministerio de Estado (1833-1837)", *BBMP* 73, 1997, pp.46-47

de la Rosa avoided conflict with Gayangos and simply stated that he should not write so intemperately with little consideration of the facts.

Gayangos's writings and initiatives made him a pushy and sometimes uncomfortable element to the government reminding them of their obligation towards recognising the importance of Arabic. Finally, by 1836 things moved forward for Gayangos and Arabic studies. The previous year had seen the foundation of the *Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid*, a literary club which soon became an important intellectual gathering place.⁷³ There Arabic was established as a subject in 1836,⁷⁴ and Gayangos was appointed professor. He opened the academic year with a speech about the importance, utility and the state of Arabic studies.⁷⁵ His classes were the only available classes of Arabic within Spain. He had thirty students, but was not paid for his teaching, and had to continue working as a translator. Yet, the position was of value to Gayangos as it was to open doors later.

Gayangos further applied for funds to the *Real Academia de la Historia* to pursue his own scholarly research on the history of the Moors, but without success. Hoping that the Chair of Arabic would still be created at the University, Gayangos applied again for the position on 16 January 1837.⁷⁶ As on the first occasion, he justified his application by giving a summary of his intellectual achievements. In addition, he laid out the importance of Arabic studies in Spain and deeply deplored the fact that there was still no official Chair of Arabic.⁷⁷ But Gayangos still continued to be frustrated by circumstances: In 1837 the Carlists led raids to the south and west,

⁷³ RUEDA, *El Reinado de Isabel II. La España Liberal*, Madrid, 1996, pp.57-8. For the political significance of the Ateneo, also see LABRA, *El Ateneo de Madrid*, 1878. It was a gathering place for the political opposition, especially for conservative liberals in periods of radical ascendancy.

⁷⁴ ROCA, 1897, I, p.562

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.561

⁷⁶ Gayangos to the government, 16 January 1837, AGA, Caja 31-15827, Expediente 626-30

⁷⁷ *Idem*

briefly seizing: Valencia, Cordoba, Valladolid and Segovia. By July 1837 Don Carlos led 12000 troops to the outskirts of Madrid. Spain was again plunged in chaos and with the threat of the Carlists taking over, Gayangos decided to leave the country, abandoning Arabism in its embryonic stages. Chapter Two and Three will demonstrate in more detail how in Britain Gayangos was able to establish his career as an Arabist. A few people within Spain who believed in Gayangos and the importance of Moorish Spain however continued to promote him. The most influential of these was José Manuel Quintana, the liberal poet, writer, and central figure in the making of the famous 1812 Constitution.⁷⁸ In 1840, in his new capacity as minister of education Quintana suggested Gayangos as an adequate candidate for a chair of Arabic if that chair was going to be created at the *Universidad Central*.⁷⁹

According to Roca, Gayangos felt so frustrated with Spain, that he had no intention of returning. However, other sources reveal that whilst living happily in London, Gayangos never abandoned his passion for Spain and continued to lobby for Arabic studies there. Letters sent in 1841 from Oxford to Fernandez Navarrete (*Presidente de la Real Academia de la Historia*) and Vicente Arnao (*Secretario de la Academia*) not only reveal his ambitions as an Arabist, but also his fervent desire to contribute to the “laudable aims” of the *Academia* and to return to his country.⁸⁰ Gayangos informed the president of how much recognition his work had received from Britain. The subject itself, Gayangos explained, received much more attention outside than from intellectuals in Spain. British scholars, Gayangos claimed, considered Moorish Spain as the birthplace of knowledge and scholarship in the rest

⁷⁸ On Quintana, see DÉROZIER, *Manuel Josef Quintana et la naissance du libéralisme en Espagne*, 1968

⁷⁹ Quintana to the Ministro de la Gobernación, 29 May 1840. AGA, Caja AGA. 31-15827, Expediente 626 – 30.

⁸⁰ Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 May 1841, Oxford. ÁLVAREZ MILLÁN, 2003, p. 23

of Europe. In the preface to his *Mohammedan Dynasties* (1840-43), he described the Moorish civilisation of Spain as one which

illuminated the whole of the Christian world; in the Arab schools of Cordoba and Toledo were gathered, and carefully preserved for us, the dying embers of Greek learning; and it is to Arab sagacity and industry that we owe the discovery or dissemination of many of the most useful and important modern inventions.⁸¹

The members of the Royal Asiatic Society had voted Gayangos unanimously member of the institution, a status rarely given to a foreign scholar,⁸² and they further encouraged him to continue his work. However, Gayangos assured the *Academia de la Historia* that his undertakings should not only serve Britain, but also Spain, his “*pobre patria*”.⁸³ He was “more than ever” immersed in the search for Arabic manuscripts in the “rich manuscript collections” of the British libraries and excited about the “very numerous and surprising” unstudied documents he discovered in Oxford. He concluded that the history of Spain remained to be written, since “*muy poco*” or “*nada*” was known about the “*interesantísimo*” Moorish period.⁸⁴ Gayangos suggested that either the Spanish government or the National Library of Spain, or the *Academia de la Historia* commission copies “with the objective to form or edit one day a collection of Arabic historians about Spain.”⁸⁵ Gayangos hoped that Navarrete would promote his projects, by using his influence within the government in order to raise “*unos cuantos miles de reales*”⁸⁶, yet he anticipated the reply: “*Pero ya me figuro cual será su contestación de Vm. El proyecto es muy bueno; la intención muy laudable; pero ¿donde está el dinero?*” Gayangos went on challenging Navarrete:

⁸¹ GAYANGOS, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain*, 1840-43, vol. I, p. vii

⁸² Gayangos to Arnao, [1841], ALVAREZ MILLAN, 2003, p.28

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.30

⁸⁴ Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 March 1841, *ibid.*, p.24

⁸⁵ Gayangos to Arnao, [1841], *ibid.*, p.29

⁸⁶ Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 March 1841, *ibid.*, p.26

“¿Donde [están] los gobernantes que comprendan la utilidad de semejante empresa y tengan la suficiente constancia y patriotismo para llevarlo a cabo y luchar con los obstáculos que contra todo lo que es bueno y honorífico se suscitan en nuestra España?”⁸⁷

He also urged the *Academia* to adopt a more international outlook: In a few paragraphs, he explained that the Escorial did not have, as most Spaniards believed, the richest holding of Moorish manuscripts. The truth was that most European libraries possessed as many Arabic manuscripts as the Escorial, and holdings in Paris, Vienna, Leyden, Saint Petersburg and London even tripled or quadrupled the collection of the Escorial. These, Gayangos explained, had been formed more recently by intellectuals well versed in Oriental culture, and as a result were more select and varied than the Escorial collection which mostly housed manuscripts of law and theology. Gayangos concluded that it was time to come to terms with reality, even at the risk of hurting the sense of “national pride”. Through Gayangos, the *Academia* was made aware of the gap between Spain and Britain that seemed to become even wider.⁸⁸

Gayangos further drew Navarrete’s attention to the haemorrhage of rare books and manuscripts through both Spaniards and foreigners, which led to the impoverishment of Spanish libraries:

Quién era un tal Bauzá que según me han dicho trajo de España varios códices preciosos relativos a America, que le compró el difunto Lord

⁸⁷ Gayangos to Arnao, [1841], *Ibid.*, p.29

⁸⁸ Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 March 1841, *ibid.*, p.24: “La biblioteca Bodleyana ... no tenía un sólo códice arabigo cuando la nuestra del Escorial era ya rica... Laud, Arzobispo de Canterbury fué el primero que la legó su rica colección de manuscritos orientales, ejemplo que imitaron después los dos [doctos] Huntingdon, Marshall, Selden, Hyde, y otros varios. Además de esto [...] comisionados activos e inteligentes que han adquirido por su cuenta cuantos códices...”

Kingsborough? Quien un tal Buida, Italiano que extrajo del Escorial entre otros libros preciosísimos, una de estampas originales que representaban la Apotheosis de Carlos V por Julio Romano, que se vendió en 80000 r y para hoy día en poder de Mr. Rogers [...] Digo ésto porque parece, que nuestra pobre patria está destinada a ser siempre robada."⁸⁹

He reported that large quantities were arriving daily in London, and some had formerly belonged to monastic collections, the Escorial and the *Biblioteca Nacional* and were very valuable. Gayangos was also concerned about the fact that the private collection of manuscripts of José Antonio Conde, sold in 1824 to the American merchant turned diplomat, bibliophile and bookseller, Obadiah Rich,⁹⁰ had included manuscripts which actually belonged to the Escorial and *Biblioteca Nacional*. Rich then had sold many items at high rates in Britain. Amongst them was the *Cancionero de Baena* which had been sold to the remarkable bibliophile Richard Heber for 17,300 *reales*, and which after Heber's death, had entered the library of Louis-Philippe of France.⁹¹ Gayangos blamed the inefficiency and neglect of the Spanish librarians of the *Real Biblioteca* who had written the catalogue of Conde's collection for Obadiah Rich in 1824 without realising that the majority of the manuscripts was "*propriedad de la Nación.*"⁹² He deplored this lack of concern: "*Que indolencia!... Cuando habrá pureza entre nuestros empleados?*"⁹³ As scholar and patriot,

⁸⁹ Gayangos to Arnao, [1841], *ibid*, pp.29-30. Felipe Bauzá (1759?-1833) was a cartographer. He was member of the *Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid) and the Geographical Societies of London and Turin. He was a liberal exile in London, probably after 1822/3. See LLORENS, 1979, p.29

"Mr Rogers" may be Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), retired banker, celebrated poet, art patron, host and arbiter of taste at the house he built in St. James's.

⁹⁰ KNEPPER, Adrian, "Obadiah Rich: Bibliopole" in *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America*, vol XLIX, 1955, pp.112-30. See also, *The 1993 Pforzheimer Lecture* by William Reese, New York Public Library, published on the web: www.reeseeco.com/papers/pforz (Oct.2004)

⁹¹ GLENDINNING, "Spanish books in England 1800-1850", *Transactions for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3, 1959, p.72-3

⁹² Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 March 1841, ALVAREZ MILLAN, p.27

⁹³ Gayangos to Arnao, London, [1841], *ibid*, p.27: "*Lo que es aún más deplorable es que... D. Elias Scidiac, empleado en la Real Biblioteca, fué el que hizo el catálogo para el comprador O'Rich, ni a aquel ni á nadie se le ocurrió que pudiese haber entre los libros del difunto alguno que no le pertenciese y así salieron de España..*"

Gayangos bought items back. He had been able to purchase a few “sad reliques” of Conde’s collection and wished to return them to Spain.⁹⁴ In addition, he made notes and copied extracts of the many manuscripts in public and private libraries, such as the library of “*ricacho*” Thomas Phillipps, who owned about 14000 manuscripts, and amongst them 900 Spanish, some of which had formerly belonged to the eighteenth-century historian and distinguished member of the *Academia*: el Conde de Campomanes.⁹⁵ Gayangos further pointed out that there had been a series of intellectuals during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century, with an interest in Moorish Spain, but if their work had not flourished, it was not *por culpa de los individuos sino por negligencia y torpeza de los gobiernos*.⁹⁶ Gayangos hoped that things would change and that his work on Moorish Spain would give him the possibility to return:

... tareas de esta clase [...] me hagan concebir la esperanza de que podré algún día volver a España, y hacer allí lo que bien a mi pesar estoy ahora haciendo en suelo extraño.⁹⁷

Ultimately, Gayangos warned Navarrete that if Spain continued to be a sterile ground for Arabic studies, his talents and knowledge would be Britain’s gain, Spain’s loss. Britain, Gayangos explained, presented him with a variety of career possibilities as a historian. For example, some “influential persons” had brought to his mind the idea of adopting British citizenship to settle in Britain for good. If he accepted, he could aspire to a rather lucrative job in the East India Company:

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p.30

⁹⁵ “... [Phillipps] lleva reunidos al pie de 14,000 con la circunstancia de que cada mes publica un catalogo de lo que ha comprado en el anterior... Entre los muchos españoles que posee (quizás pasen de 900) he visto algunos que fueron del licenciado Comenares...” Gayangos to Arnao, [1841], *idem*

⁹⁶ Gayangos had found and purchased several works by less known Spanish writers dealing with Islamic Spain from the sixteenth century onwards (e.g. Father Martin Figuerola; Mariano Pizzi; Faustino Nepumuceno). *ibid.*, pp.30-31

⁹⁷ Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 March 1841, *ibid.*, p.26

Desde algún tiempo a este parte han sido varias y repetidas las instancias que por personas influyentes se me han hecho, para que me naturalice Inglés y me establezca en este país. Se ha llegado hasta ofrecerme, en caso de aceptar, un empleo bastante lucrativo en la compañía de la India.⁹⁸

Gayangos had also been approached by “one of the most influential members” of the British cabinet, who had asked him to go on a “secret mission to Africa” of a political character. Gayangos insinuated that the purpose of the mission was also to study the character, customs and society in North African countries and to purchase Arabic manuscripts on history and geography, in particular those in relation to Spain. However, Gayangos assured Navarrete that he had resisted these flattering offers so far, because his true desire was to serve Spain. As a patriot, he felt most uncomfortable with the idea of depositing the “relics of Moorish-Spanish literature” in the libraries in Britain.⁹⁹ On the other hand, if Spain, “*mi patria*”, continued to ignore his field of studies, and if there was no chance to put his knowledge at the service of his country, he would accept one of the posts as a sign of “gratitude for the unique favours” he had received in Britain. If nothing came up in Spain, Spain would lose his talent and knowledge to Britain and so the gap between Spain and Britain would become even wider.

Gayangos’ appeals for patriotic scholarship slowly filtered through to the government: In 1841, he was appointed Spanish vice-consul in Tunis. He then made plans to go to Tunis after the publication of the second volume of his *Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain*, but in fact never took up the post. Finally, 1843 saw the establishment of a Chair of Arabic as the result of all his lobbying. Shortly after, Gayangos was appointed the first ever professor of Arabic at the University of

⁹⁸ *Idem*

⁹⁹ *Idem.*

Madrid. He became the founding father of modern Arabism in Spain, going on to form the leading Arabists of the next generation: Francisco Codera (1836-1917) and Julián Ribera (1858-1934).

Gayangos was not merely a patriotic Arabist scholar. His patriotism and concern for progress of scholarship on Spain emerge in many other fields of non-Moorish culture. His interest in non-Moorish history might have stemmed from a kind of personal identity with Spain's fighting forces. Gayangos' wife once pointed out that his ancestors had all been great military men, serving Spain: One of his father's ancestors was married to a niece of the *Gran Capitán* (1453-1515), who had distinguished himself under Charles V; and in addition, his mother's family was related in some way to the military hero, and they still used the same coronet as had the *Gran Capitán*. "I think the pride of ancestry born with him (though he never shows it) has followed him in his researches and given him greater zest in describing the deeds of valour of the heroes of the olden time."¹⁰⁰ Gayangos' collaboration with distinguished historians, such as William Hickling Prescott and Sir William Stirling-Maxwell encouraged his interest in the sixteenth century.

His zeal for Castilian literature certainly developed from his concern with the culture of the middle ages as approached from an Orientalist standpoint. Like the Spanish literary historian, Agustín Durán (the first who called for the scholarly recognition of Spanish popular poetry), Gayangos considered the early Spanish romances in Castilian of great historical value. They indicated "*de una manera clara y distinta la marcha de la civilización y el cambio de ideas y costumbres,*

¹⁰⁰ F.Revell to Prescott, 17 December 1843, WOLCOTT, *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott 1833-1847*, 1925, p.417

proporcionando así útil enseñanza a los que se dedican al estudio de la edad media."¹⁰¹ Here, Gayangos' collaboration with George Ticknor, professor of Spanish and French literature at Harvard, further stimulated his own research into the literature.

In literature and history, Gayangos stands out as an indefatigable researcher, roaming the archives in Europe. Research in the nineteenth century, in particular in Spain, was physically and mentally exhausting and required a combination of much enthusiasm, patience and perseverance. Gayangos had all of these qualities. Perhaps the biggest challenge was his exploration of the state archives in the unattractive town of Simancas, which he undertook in 1844 on behalf of the distinguished Bostonian historian William Hickling Prescott. Gayangos was one of the first scholars to explore the archives. Permission could not easily be obtained. There was resistance as the authorities feared that Gayangos and Prescott would use the material to portray sixteenth century Spain in a negative light. And yet for all this, nothing could discourage Gayangos. He wrote to Prescott in April 1844 in combative mood: "I am resolved '*coûte que coûte*' to ask the Government for the necessary permit to visit Simancas."¹⁰² Gayangos received permission, however, this joy was shadowed by the death of his son over which he deeply grieved. Gayangos was in a more depressed mood, but still decided to face the hardships of travel to Simancas: "astride of a mule like Gil Blas, since in keeping with everything else in Spain the General Archives of the Kingdom are in an almost inaccessible place. Everything here conspires against us poor men of letters."¹⁰³ More hindrances emerged during the six weeks which Gayangos spent at Simancas. The library was open only four hours a

¹⁰¹ GAYANGOS, *Libros de Caballería*, BAE, Madrid, 1857. Prologue

¹⁰² Gayangos to Prescott, 13 April 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.460

¹⁰³ Gayangos to Prescott, 6 June 1844, *ibid.*, p.471

day, and closed on Thursdays and holidays. As a result, not as much could be done as might have been liked. Another irritating problem arose when Gayangos wished to make copies and extracts of documents he had selected: It was forbidden and Gayangos now angrily wrote:

I found that one of the articles of the barbarous and stupid general Regulations of the Archives promulgated by the late Minister Peñaflores forbids visitors to the Archives to copy, make extract or notes or even to make a summary of the papers which they examine. Was [there] ever a greater piece of folly? I can understand being forbidden to make copies - ... but the prohibition of the taking of notes or making a summary of what is read can have originated only in the head of a man who, ... has never seen any archives and does not know how to use the papers...¹⁰⁴

Where other researchers might have given up, Gayangos never despaired, but applied to the government to have the rule suspended. Permission was granted and he was allowed even to make extracts and summaries. The copying, however, had to be left to the clerks, and was not done promptly, since they were also occupied with making copies for others.¹⁰⁵ Another setback was the sheer quantity of material and the confusion of the archives; the employees at the library seemed uninformed about their collection and therefore were not of much help.¹⁰⁶ Gayangos reported that there were 40,000 classified parcels under the titles of Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, Sea and Land, Grants, Military Orders, Rome... , however, the title of the parcels did not always match the contents and were therefore unreliable. In one case, the librarians even became a hindrance, when Gayangos searched for papers on the imprisonment and death of Don Carlos. After some time, Gayangos finally found out that there was a parcel entitled "Papers relating to the imprisonment and death of Prince Don Carlos", however, as soon as the clerk had brought the box, it was taken

¹⁰⁴ Gayangos to Prescott, 1 August 1844, *ibid.*, pp.488-9

¹⁰⁵ Gayangos to Prescott, 28 August 1844, *ibid.*, pp.494-6

¹⁰⁶ Gayangos to Prescott, 1 August 1844, *ibid.*, pp.488-9

away again. The clerk received a “tremendous rebuke” from the principal librarian, since there was an explicit order from the government to deliver them to nobody. Nevertheless “by perseverance and thanks to my friendship with one of the employees” Gayangos was given the chance to read over the contents of the parcel,

although on the express understanding that I should take no notes or copy anything from it. When nobody was looking I copied whole paragraphs, making use of a certain cipher which I employ when I wish to copy something in a limited time. Whatever I was unable to copy in the short space of the hour I had [,] the papers I read two or three times with the greatest attention and committed it to memory, and when I got back to my rooms I wrote it out before I forgot it! Such are the stratagems and schemes to which one must resort to accomplish so holy an object as writing history!

Thus, when Prescott feared that Gayangos’ sojourn in Simancas would be a “knight errant’s adventure” that was not far from the truth.¹⁰⁷ Gayangos’ research there was quixotic in terms of permissions of access, negotiation with librarians and copyists. The peculiar working conditions put Gayangos’ capacity for scanning over manuscripts, quick note taking, and memorising under a real test. Yet, the results were of real significance, as we shall see in Chapter Five.

Gayangos’ literary ardour only cooled in one instance, in June 1848, not long after the fall of the French monarchy. Gayangos felt most delighted that he had gained access to the *penetralia* of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, thanks to his friend Bretón de los Herreros, however his first delight turned soon into the biggest fright of his life:

I was so pleasantly occupied with my research that I had forgotten that Madrid was in turmoil and had been in revolt since the events of March. I was not thinking about anything other than going to the library and searching for manuscripts, taking notes and making extracts, until the day I was called to order by a military officer. When I did not answer his “Who is there?”, he shot at me! Well, according to what he said later, he was not shooting at me, but at a group of rebels – rough types, who were behind me, running towards

¹⁰⁷ Prescott to Gayangos, 29 Sept. 1844, PENNEY, 1927, p.57

the Palace next to the Library. Even so, although I was not shot and the guardian apologised,... you can imagine how such a greeting has cooled my literary ardour. A few days later I left Madrid.¹⁰⁸

As a result Gayangos shut himself away in the countryside in Pozuelo del Alarcon, together with his books and his family. But nothing could take his enthusiasm away for very long. Shortly after the incident, he decided to go to North Africa: "*Hame pasado por la imaginación el pasar unas cuantas semanas entre los Moros afin de observer sus costumbres y hablar su lengua.*"¹⁰⁹ However, the incident in the library made him more cautious. Accordingly, he applied for the official protection of the Spanish consulate in Tangiers, because he feared that "*en el estado de nuestras relaciones con el Imperio de Marruecos, pudiera correr algún riesgo mi persona en las incursiones que medito.*"¹¹⁰

By 1850, Gayangos' wide research experience made him the best qualified candidate for an official research mission, which consisted of examining and selecting manuscripts in the provincial archives: these housed a large part of the collections that had belonged to the religious orders until the suppression of the monasteries in 1836. The aim was to transfer this material, formerly in monastic collections, to the *Real Academia de la Historia*, and thus to save it from oblivion

¹⁰⁸ Gayangos to Prescott, 19 June 1848, MHS, P. Original in Spanish: "*Tan agradablemente ocupado me hallaba que olvidando que Madrid estaba en estado de sitio, de revueltas de los acontecimientos del Marzo no pensaba en otra cosa más que en ir a la biblioteca y registrar códigos y manuscritos, sacando apuntes y extractos de ellos, cuando un día hube de ser llamado al orden por un centinela que viendo no le contestaba al 'quien vive', me disparó un tiro, si bien, segun él después dijo, no fue a mí, sino a un grupo de ocupados – gente de mala facha, que detrás de mí venian con dirección al Palacio que está inmediatamente a la Biblioteca. Como quiera que esto sea, aunque el tiro no me dió y el oficial de guardia me pidió perdón y reprendió al recluta, V se puede imaginar que semejante saludo debió por entonces entibiar mi ardor literario.*"

¹⁰⁹ *Idem.*

¹¹⁰ Gayangos to Pedro José Pidal, [August 1848], VILAR, "El viaje de Pascual de Gayangos a Marruecos en 1848", *BBMP* 73, 1997, p.38

and decay.¹¹¹ This mission was carefully planned. Letters were issued to the Minister of Education to obtain leave for Gayangos from his post as professor of Arabic for his first trip to Logroño and Asturias;¹¹² the *Director General de Fincas del Estado* (director of the provincial state properties) was informed about the purpose.¹¹³ Gayangos gave detailed and clear instructions to the director to ensure that his mission would run smoothly without any problems of access.¹¹⁴ He insisted that local employees should not in any way intervene in the choice of papers he would make. What Gayangos feared most was the resistance of civil governors and ecclesiastics, who were reluctant to send material to Madrid. Gayangos frequently reported such problems, for example the Archbishop of Santiago was opposed to the transfer of the selected papers from *San Martin Pinario* to Madrid.¹¹⁵ In this and other cases, Gayangos encouraged the Academy to approach the “*Sr Ministro de la gobernacion para que se espidan las oportunas ordenes*”. This the Academy did.¹¹⁶ His mission in Northern Spain required not just wide scholarly knowledge of manuscripts, but also diplomatic skill. The hardships of travel connected with his literary research trip to Southern Spain in February 1855 put his physical and mental endurance under a further test. Gayangos left Madrid on 8 February, a few weeks after the death of his wife. He hoped that the trip would distract him from his sorrow however it soon

¹¹¹ See SANTIAGO RIVAS, *Luis López Ballesteros. Gran Ministro de Fernando VII*, 1945. Letters from Gayangos to Ballesteros, 1853, reporting on his trips to the Northern provinces, pp.206-213. There are more unpublished letters at the RAH, *Expediente personal de Gayangos*, [EpG hereafter]

¹¹² The *Academia* to Ministro de Com. Instruccion y Obras publicas, 11 November 1850. RAH, EpG, f.32

¹¹³ The *Academia* to Felipe Canga Argüelles, Director general de Fincas, [1853], *ibid.*, f.34

¹¹⁴ Note from Gayangos to the Academy, n.d., *ibid.*, [1853] f.38

¹¹⁵ Gayangos to RAH. 28 January 1853, RAH, EpG, f. 65.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* There is a note in the margin, which confirms that the Academy approached the “Ministro de la Gobernacion” to solve the problem.

turned into “tribulaciones *quorum meministe horreo*”,¹¹⁷ which he satirised in a letter to a friend Borja Pavón. This involved travel in most unreliable carriages of an unimaginable level of discomfort, fearsome bandits roaming the countryside, and a life-threatening crossing of a river in a mule-drawn carriage shared with some hysterical nuns and other travellers:

*Creí firmemente que nos ahogabamos, tal era la furia de su corriente. Dos de las mulas delanteras se echaron, el zagal cayó al agua, las religiosas y el capellán gritaban. El mayoral echaba maldiciones y hubo la de San Quintín.*¹¹⁸

He also visited the provinces of Burgos, Guadalajara, Guipúzcoa, Huesca, León, Lérida, Logroño, Lugo, Navarra, Orense, Oviedo, Palencia, Pontevedra, Salamanca, Teruel, Valladolid y Zaragoza. Notwithstanding the hardships, opposition of librarians and ecclesiastics, the results of his literary mission were good. He had secured some of the oldest medieval manuscripts in Spain from “*un recinto tabicado de que ya no habia ni memoria*” in the abandoned convents of *San Pedro de Cardeña* and *San Millán de la Cogollo*.¹¹⁹ Pedro Sabau described them as the oldest and most admired manuscripts that could be found in Spain, some dating from the seventh century, providing information on the state of religious knowledge and ideas of early medieval Spain, a period of which very little was known.¹²⁰ This commitment to the rediscovery of a national heritage confirms the patriotism of Gayangos.

Such indefatigable pursuit of primary material also demands that he be compared with other European researchers and historians, who made archival research the bases of their creations: Prosper Gachard, the Belgian archivist and

¹¹⁷ Gayangos to Borja, Granada 25 March 1855. Díaz, *Revista Bibliográfica y Documental*, Madrid, II, 1848, Suplemento 1 del no 4, Oct-December, p.28

¹¹⁸ *Idem*.

¹¹⁹ SABAU, *Noticia de las Actas y tareas de la Real Academia de la Historia, leída en su Junta pública anual de 24 de abril de 1853*, Madrid, RAH, 1853, p.18

¹²⁰ *Memorial Histórico*, vol. II, 1851

historian (1800-85); the British historian J.A. Froude (1818-1894), whose monumental *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, benefited from the authors' own sojourn in Simancas, the fruits of which remain to this day, the foundation of Tudor studies;¹²¹ and Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), German historian and professor at Berlin (1825-71): recognized as the father of the modern objective historical school, based on 'hard fact' derived from primary sources. Ranke believed that it was possible to reconstruct the past as it actually was and thereby to avoid injecting the history of former times with the spirit of the present. To attain his goal, Ranke insisted that only contemporary accounts and related material be used as sources. His technique depended in large part on exhaustive archival research.¹²²

Gayangos' research developed in a variety of ways. He poured much of his effort into the books of Anglo-American Hispanists, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. But it would be a complete misconception to assume that Gayangos sacrificed his energy for other writers and produced little himself. Productivity consisted in editing numerous new documents. These contributed both to the understanding of the Moorish domination and the Golden Age of Spain. His creativity resided in the learned introductions and essays that accompanied most of these editions. For example, he edited many unknown historical manuscripts regarding Hernan Cortés, Eugenio de Salazar, the Count of Gondomar, Philip II and others.¹²³ In 1875, he published *Memorias del cautivo en la goleta de Túnez*, an

¹²¹ KENYON, *The History Men*, 1983, p.123

¹²² GOOCH, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (ed. 1952, repr. 1965); LAUE, T. von *Leopold Ranke, the Formative Years* (1950, 2nd edition 1970).

¹²³ See bibliography: Works by Gayangos.

anonymous sixteenth-century account of the Morisco war and the loss of Goleta in Tunis. A long preface consisted of a learned discussion of the possible authorship, content and style. Gayangos' editions include many works considered as landmarks today, such as the famous *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, edited for the first time in 1851 by Eugenio de Ochoa in collaboration with the Marqués de Pidal and Gayangos. In *Libros de Caballería* (1857) Gayangos published the most remarkable of all Spanish tales of chivalry: *Amadis de Gaul*. In 1858, he made for the first time the earliest important work in Castilian literature available: *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar que mandó escribir el rey Don Alfonso el Sabio ilustrada con notas críticas y un glosario por Don Pascual de Gayangos*. Gayangos' publication of *Escritores en Prosa Anteriores al Siglo XV* (1860) included extracts of thirteenth and fourteenth century Castilian literature, including several works by Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), the author famous for *Conde Lucanor* (1335). Late in life, Gayangos contributed to Cervantes studies in vogue in nineteenth-century Spain, by analysing and editing *Cervantes en Valladolid, o sea descripción de un manuscrito inédito portugués intitulado memorias de la corte de España en 1605. Existente en la Biblioteca del Museo Británico de Londres* (1884).

Within the Moorish field, Gayangos edited for the first time the *Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis*, the earliest chronicle in Arabic on the history of al-Andalus.¹²⁴ In the essay preceding that edition, he argued how the chronicle was not a compilation of several separate accounts, as Casiri and Conde believed, but was the product of one Arabic historian. Thereby an important controversy was settled.

¹²⁴ *Memoria sobre la Autenticidad de la crónica denominada del moro rasis leída en la Real Academia de la Historia por Don Pascual de Gayangos al tomar posesion de su plaza de académico supernumerario*. Madrid, 1850

However, Gayangos' projects of editing material he had found in Oxford in the 1840s unfortunately remained unrealised. But the credit for recognising the intrinsic significance of these items was his. Many manuscripts were edited by others much later; for instance the third volume of Ibn Hayyan's history dealing with the reign of Adb dallah, the grandfather of the Caliph Abd ar-rahman III, who converted Córdoba into the political and religious centre of the Islamic West, Gayangos unearthed in Oxford. It was edited for the first time in 1937, and described as one of the most "*précieux joyaux de la littérature historique-médiévale*", a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the period leading up to the high point of Umayyad Spain.¹²⁵ Gayangos had also wished to edit the geographical description of Spain by al-Idrisi together with explanatory notes and translations. He planned to make a precise copy of the oldest manuscript version, and compare and complete the missing parts with the more recent copy of the manuscript in the Bodleian and with that in Paris. The idea was taken up in 1866 by his Dutch colleague and rival, Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883) at the University of Leyden.¹²⁶ Gayangos had envisaged editing many more manuscripts "with the objective to form or edit one day a collection of Arabic historians about Spain," and creating a biographical dictionary of Arabic figures.¹²⁷ Both projects only materialised one hundred fifty years later with the *Colección de Fuentes Arabigo-Hispanas* and the *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al Andalus*, and the *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus: Diccionario de Autores y Obras Andalusíes*.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ *Chronique du règne du calife Umayyade Abd Allah à Cordoue. Texte arabe publié pour la première fois d'après le ms. de la Bodléienne avec une introduction par Melchor M. Antuña.* Paris, 1937. Also see, CHALMETA, P., *Ibn Hayyan, Abu Marwan Hayyan ibn Khalaf*, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, Madrid, 1979

¹²⁶ Dozy, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne (par al-Idrisi)*, 1866

¹²⁷ Gayangos to Arnao, ÁLVAREZ MILLÁN, 2003, pp.28-29

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.5

Gayangos' interest in primary material not only resulted in editions of manuscripts, but also in the production of important research tools for others. Whilst employed in Madrid as translator for the government (1833-37), Gayangos had already undertaken cataloguing in the library of the *Real Palacio*, although he received no extra payments for this work. At the request of the principal librarian, Joaquín María Patiño, Gayangos further classified the collection of medals and coins and compiled the index of the Arabic manuscripts.

Later, during research undertaken at the British Museum in the 1840s Gayangos began to make notes and lists of Spanish manuscripts, and "as early as the year 1842", drafted a catalogue.¹²⁹ Gayangos' interest in bibliography was certainly fuelled by his compatriot Eugene Ochoa, who published a catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts from the collection of the National Library in Paris (1844). Gayangos was encouraged in his thoughts for a British Museum catalogue by a long period of expansion at the library first promoted by Antonio Panizzi (Keeper of Printed Books from 1837-1856, and Principal Librarian from 1856-1866). Accordingly, Gayangos approached the Trustees of the British Museum in autumn 1867,¹³⁰ drawing attention to the fact that with the cataloguing system in place, it was "hardly possible to obtain either a just view of the extent and character of the [Spanish] collection, or an accurate knowledge of the contents of particular volumes." Thus he outlined a

¹²⁹ Statement by Gayangos, 9 November 1867: "the undersigned [Gayangos] began as early as the year 1842 a catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum, to which he has occasionally referred since in some of his works, and particularly in his translation of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*." British Museum Archive (BM hereafter), Officer Reports [OP] 92, 11163,

¹³⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 30 October 1867, ML, T-SK 29/17/43

proposal for a catalogue of the 800-900 Spanish manuscripts.¹³¹ Edward Bond, the keeper of manuscripts submitted an encouraging report upon Gayangos' proposal:

...the proposed plan of cataloguing in classes of subjects has great advantages. The manuscripts have been purchased from time to time, and the order of numbers gives us connection of subject and interest. But whoever desires to consult them will wish to have presented together volumes of early literature, or volumes of History, or of Biography, or of whatever subject he may be engaged upon. And for this the proposed plan provides. Moreover it will so far conform with the scheme already approved of a general catalogue of manuscripts in classes, and when carried out will form part of that design.¹³²

Bond assured the Trustees that Gayangos was "the best [choice] that can be made" because of his historical and bibliographical studies, the mastery of Spanish, and his expertise on subjects be touched upon in the manuscripts.¹³³ Bond invited Gayangos to submit a first specimen of the catalogue for inspection. This was approved,¹³⁴ and the whole project was officially accepted in June 1868. The work took several years,¹³⁵ partly because Gayangos resided most of the year in Madrid. His draft was approved in 1873; the first volume published in 1875.¹³⁶ Three more followed in 1877, 1881 and 1893. Here for the first time the manuscripts, letters, and state papers in the Spanish language, acquired at various times up until the end of the year 1867, from the different collections, were classified under subject matter, described and brought for the first time under one view. Today the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in*

¹³¹ Gayangos to British Museum, 8 November 1867, BM, OP 92, f.11163

¹³² Bond, 23 November 1867. BM, Minutes, CE5180 (11486)

¹³³ *Idem.*

¹³⁴ Bond, 21 April 1868, BM, OP 52, vol 80, f 4267 (b)

¹³⁵ Gayangos to the Trustees, 9 November 1867, OP92, 11163

¹³⁶ Minutes, 13 December 1873, BM, Standing Committee, CE3/35/11876. It was agreed to pay Gayangos £4.10 per printed sheet, plus £1 per sheet for revision "the rate of payment to be if necessary, reduced or increased hereafter, so that the total sum paid to Mr Gayangos shall not exceed the £500 – sanctioned by the Trustees on the 4th July."

BM, Standing Committee, CE3/36: "The cost of printing 350 copies had amounted to £280 and that the binding in plain cloth would cost 1/6 a copy."

the Spanish Language in the British Museum (reprinted in 1976) is still considered the starting point for the Hispanist in the British Library.¹³⁷

Shortly after Gayangos began to work on it, he was also appointed to continue the *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the archives of Simancas and elsewhere*. This had been begun by the German bibliophile Gustave Adolphe Bergenroth (1813-1868) in 1862. He died in 1868 leaving only two volumes finished. Gayangos was expected to

produce every year for £400 one volume of 650 pages with index and Introduction. No Spanish text is to be given; only abstracts and translation, the copies to be deposited at the Rolls' Office.¹³⁸

This obliged him to visit the rearchives of Simancas, Brussels and Vienna. Four volumes appeared during his own life time (1873-1895) containing papers covering the period of the reign of Henry VIII. The fifth volume was published in 1899 two years after his death. Since then the series has been continued by others.

Gayangos' interest in primary material, his concern for the national heritage of literary treasures, and ultimately his passion for scholarship on Spanish culture, also made him one of the most passionate and outstanding collectors of manuscripts and books. The twentieth-century scholar Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino stated that "*no tuvo rival Gayangos en la adquisición de libros.... Ninguno puso una inteligente voluntad, una pasión tan constante y fervorosa por perseguir los restos de nuestro*

¹³⁷ TAYLOR, "Manuscritos hispánicos de la British Library: estado de su investigación y publicación" – conference paper read at 'Evaluación de las Fuentes históricas, jurídicas hispanas ante el siglo XXI', Barcelona, 1996, www.b.uk/collections/westeuropean/esporhims

¹³⁸ Gayangos to Stirling, 29 May 1869, MLG, T-SK 29/19/120

pasado histórico y literario... como don Pascual".¹³⁹ According to Pedro Roca, the Spanish books and manuscripts that became part of the collection of *Biblioteca Nacional*, comprised 22000 printed items and 1300 manuscripts. Still today, the Gayangos' collection remains the most important within the National Library in Madrid. Martin Abad confirms that thanks to Gayangos the *Biblioteca Nacional* is the possessor of over 300 incunabula.¹⁴⁰ So too, the *Real Academia de la Historia* was amplified by the "rich oriental collection" of Gayangos. He made important donations during his own lifetime: in 1850, he gave about fifty documents dating from the 11th to the 15th centuries. This was followed in 1853 by a donation of letters of kings and cardinals addressed to the *Convento de la Merced* in Madrid dating from 1621 to 1792. The motive for donating these to the *Real Academia de la Historia* had to do with his concern for national heritage. He explained that he had purchased the manuscripts in 1836 as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries that year, but by 1853, he felt that he should not have bought these manuscripts, "*cuya procedencia ignoraba y que tenían un origen sospechoso*."¹⁴¹ They clearly belonged to the nation. In 1895, the *Real Academia* acquired from Gayangos a major part of his Oriental collection. According to Roca, 300 to 400 manuscripts, and 1000 printed volumes. In addition, Gayangos donated about another 100 volumes to the institution after 1895. Upon his death in 1897, the remainder of his Oriental collection was incorporated in the *Real Academia de la Historia* too: 219 items including 49 manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Persian, Sanskrit and Hindustani.

¹³⁹ RODRIGUEZ-MOÑINO, A, *Epistolario de Don Pascual de Gayangos con don Adolfo de Castro*, BRAH, CXLI, 1957, p.289

¹⁴⁰ ABAD, *Los incunables de las Bibliotecas españolas. Apuntes históricos y noticias bibliográficas sobre fondos y bibliófilos*. Valencia, 1996, p.54

¹⁴¹ Gayangos to Pedro Sabau, 1853, RAH, EpG, folio 43

Gayangos as the antiquarian has been overlooked. From early in life he had collected coins, and had sometimes dealt in them. The earliest evidence of this passion dates to his trip to Britain and France in 1835. He sold coins to the French *Cabinet des Médailles* in Paris.¹⁴² Correspondence shows him well acquainted with collectors of coins, both in Spain and in Britain. Late in life he corresponded with Reginald Stuart Poole (1832-95), an archaeologist and orientalist, and head of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. At times Stuart Poole approached Gayangos to sell him duplicates of coins.¹⁴³ He also relied on Gayangos' expertise. For example, in May 1873, he wished to know his opinion of the value of a coin of Fernando I of Portugal.¹⁴⁴ A hitherto unknown fact is Gayangos' involvement with the purchases of Moorish coins by the British Museum. Francisco Codera y Zaidín, a former student of Gayangos,¹⁴⁵ purchased Moorish coins in Spain and then Gayangos offered them to Stuart Poole.¹⁴⁶ From the correspondence and the purchase ledger of coins at the British Museum, it emerges that Gayangos sold more than 300 coins to the Museum between 1877 and 1885 on behalf of Francisco Codera. Most were Umayyad, but also of the later more unstable periods of the Moorish domination of Spain. Stuart Poole acknowledged the debt of the Museum to Gayangos and Codera. After one of his last purchases, he wrote to Gayangos: "The coins are most interesting and I am greatly indebted to M. Codera and you

¹⁴² Archives du Cabinet des Médailles. The inventory (1832-1841) is published by the *Bibliothèque Nationale* on www.archivesmonetaires.org/inventaires/centres/bn

¹⁴³ "If you still collect Arab coins I should be glad for you to see the Museum duplicates of the Amawees of Spain." Reginald Stuart Poole to Gayangos, 23 December 1875. RAH, Papers of Gayangos, Folder IV

¹⁴⁴ Poole to Gayangos, 29 May 1873. *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ CODERA, *Tratado de Numismática Árábigo-Española*, Madrid, 1879; and MILES, *The coinage of the Umayyads in Spain*, New York, 1950, p.3.

¹⁴⁶ Poole to Gayangos, 14 June 1877. RAH, Papers of Gayangos, Folder IV

[Gayangos] for the great advantage these selections have afforded us.”¹⁴⁷ In general the collection had increased so much that it could rival that of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.¹⁴⁸

Clearly Gayangos was regarded as an authority in numismatics. This emerges from the correspondence with Stanley Lane Poole. Lane Poole turned to Gayangos for support in his application at the British Museum for cataloguing the collection of Arabic coins.¹⁴⁹ This was successful and two years later, in 1875, he finished the first volume of his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*. Gayangos was also in constant touch with antiquarian dealers, such as Rollin & Feuardent, who had offices in London and Paris. They kept Gayangos informed about recent acquisitions, often offering coins for inspection.¹⁵⁰ From 1868 onwards, Gayangos corresponded with a prominent private collector: Colonel C. Seton Guthrie, whose collection was also catalogued by Lane Poole in 1874.¹⁵¹ Guthrie shared his passion and “hunger” for coins with Gayangos. Occasionally, Gayangos joined up with Guthrie to purchase. Guthrie felt delighted:

I congratulate myself on your having made the purchase on our joint account of the long sought collection of coins, you will now use my cheque – do as

¹⁴⁷ Poole to Gayangos, 3 January 1885. *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ STUART POOLE, *Reginald Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum. Additions to the Oriental Collection 1876-1888*, edited by Stuart Poole, written by Stanley Lane Poole., vol ix, 1889. Preface

¹⁴⁹ Lane-Poole to Gayangos, 13 November 1873: “Dear Sir, I find on consideration that the testimonial you were good enough to promise me should be arranged somewhat in the following form, in a letter to Mr Winter Jones, the Principal Librarian: ‘Sir – I am requested by Mr Stanley Poole to state to you my opinion of his knowledge of Oriental Numismatics, and his fitness for writing a catalogue of Arabic coins [...]’ You could then kindly state what you think of my writings and numismatic knowledge. When you have done me the favour and honour of writing a letter beginning in the way I have ventured to indicate above, would you be good enough to send it to me, as I must present my testimonials to the Principal Librarian myself.”

And on 18 November 1873: “Very many thanks for your kind and valuable testimonial. It is precisely the kind of thing that is required by the authorities here and I am much obliged to you for it.” RAH, Papers of Gayangos, folder IV

¹⁵⁰ See www.archivesmonetaires.org/dossiers/biographies/notices/feuardent.html

¹⁵¹ *Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie, R.E., F.R.S. ED., M.R.A.S. Fasciculus I. Coins of the Amawi Khaliffehs by Stanley Lane Poole* (Hertford, 1874).

you please about sending over the coins – I would say bring them over with you, study them in the meantime.¹⁵²

Gayangos sometimes made purchases for Guthrie in France and Spain,¹⁵³ thus contributing to the enrichment of an important collection: it included coins of the first Arab Caliphs, who issued for the first time purely Arabic coins, representing “the earliest and most authoritative examples of the Kufi character, the progenitor of the characters in use from Morocco to India.”¹⁵⁴ In 1874, Guthrie’s collection was “scarcely, if at all, inferior to the collection of the British Museum.”¹⁵⁵ In more recent literature on numismatics, references to Guthrie’s collection can be found. For example, he possessed a rare gold coin that illustrates the development from a Christian design into an Arab design.¹⁵⁶ The majority of Guthrie’s collection was later sold to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.¹⁵⁷ Occasionally, through Gayangos, Guthrie made purchases of other antiquities, such as Toledan swords.¹⁵⁸

Gayangos himself amassed by the end of his life almost three hundred

¹⁵² Guthrie to Gayangos, 2 April 1870 and 19 August 1871: “in time we may hope for a division of our joint purchase of coins, I leave them with you untouched by me, except in the one instance of my having taken 5 dirhems out of a packet that contained 9 [dirhems] I leave a half dozen to you (you can have more)...; RAH, Gayangos papers, Folder IV

¹⁵³ Gayangos was an intermediary between Guthrie and H. Lavoix, author of *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 1887 and 1891. Guthrie to Gayangos, 4 Nov 1871, *idem*.

Gayangos however did not always comply with Guthrie’s wishes. In 1872, Guthrie again made reference to Lavoix: “I am sorry your time in Paris was so [hurried] & that you had not seen what Mr La [Voix] had, if you are in correspondence with him perhaps you might find out if he will exchange.” Guthrie to Gayangos, 19 January 1872, *idem*

¹⁵⁴ LANE POOLE, *Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie, R.E., F.R.S. ED., M.R.A.S. Fasciculus I Coins of the Amawi Khaliffes* by Stanley Lane Poole, Hertford, 1874. Preface. According to Lane Poole, the value of the coins lay “in their being the first purely Mohammadan coinage that was issued by the Arabs. We picture to ourselves the Khalifeh Abd-El-Melik, wearied with the difficulties and ignominy of an adopted currency, calling together the wise men of his court, and constructing a new coinage, full of the spirit that had fired the East and well nigh conquered the world...”

¹⁵⁵ *Idem*.

¹⁵⁶ *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum*, 1956, vol. 2, p.xxv

¹⁵⁷ *Idem*.

¹⁵⁸ Correspondence started in February 1868. On 15 May Guthrie, then in London, wrote that he had bought a Toledan sword via the book dealer Quaritch. He now consulted Gayangos whether there were swords of a larger size, and asked him to purchase two more for him, ideally with his family motto and crest engraved...He enclosed a cheque (15 pounds) and the slip of paper with his motto. See letters, Guthrie to Gayangos: 15 May 1868; 9 July 1868. RHA, Papers of Gayangos, Folder IV

objects, including ceramics, jewellery, statuettes, coins and scientific instruments, relating to different ancient cultures from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Many of them were purchased during his trip to North Africa in 1848. His collection was given to the *Real Academia de la Historia* upon his death. The incorporation of Gayangos' collection represented the most important donation:

A fines de siglo, concretamente de 1898, ingresó la colección de Don Pascual de Gayangos que, sin lugar a dudas debe considerarse como la más importante en lo que se refiere a antigüedades.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the entire collection represented Spain's most important research centre for cultural artefacts.¹⁵⁹ In 1903, a brief list was roughly drafted in the *Catálogo del Gabinete* of the Academy. Gayangos' donation included: twenty four objects classified under "Primitive civilisations", thirty five objects under "Egyptian, Phoenician, Hindustan", eighty-three relating to "Classic Civilisations, Hispanic–Roman art, Imitations (810-993)"; twenty three objects to "Islamic antiquities"; a minority of eight objects were described as "American antiquities". Outstanding treasures from the Gayangos collection include Arabic objects, such as two astrolabes, one signed by Ahmed Ibn Husein Ibn Bes (1266) and the other by Ibrahim ibn Mohamed ibn Arrocam de Guadix (1320). In general the inclusion of non-Spanish objects clearly confirms that Gayangos' interests also went beyond the confines of the Peninsula.¹⁶⁰

Ultimately, the versatility of Gayangos' interests and talents comes across in his capacity as a reviewer of both Spanish and foreign books on history, art,

¹⁵⁹ RUMEU DE ARMAS, *Las Reales Academias del Instituto de España*, Madrid, 1992, p. 119; TOROSA Y MORA, "La actuación de la Real Academia de la Historia sobre el Patrimonio Arqueológico: ruinas y antigüedades, *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 6, 1996, pp. 191-217

¹⁶⁰ *Tesoros de la Real Academia*, (Exhibition catalogue, Palacio Real de Madrid), April-June 2001.

architecture and literature. He was always up-to date with international scholarship; and an avid reader of books, eager to snap up the most recent publications. In Britain, Gayangos published reviews on Spanish and Oriental subjects in a series of prestigious and influential journals: *Westminster Review*, *Edinburgh Review* and the *Athenaeum*. New evidence further proves that late in life he wrote for *The Saturday Review*, *The Academy* and *The Times*. In Spain, Gayangos made regular contributions to the rubric “Crónica Literaria” in the *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos*, a magazine founded in 1853, as a “serious, political, scientific and literary magazine”; dedicated not only to Spain, but also to the Spanish colonies in Southern America.¹⁶¹

In some reviews, Gayangos touched on non-Spanish subjects and on art, a field missing from his own fields of publication. For example, he praised Springer’s *Die Baukunst des christlichen Mittelalters*, (Bonn, 1854) for the logical organisation of subject matter, the clarity of analysis, the description of the monuments together with a bibliography.¹⁶² This praise was balanced by confident criticism of the author’s insufficient consideration of the influence of Byzantine architecture on Gothic architecture.¹⁶³ He pointed out that the author himself contradicted his own theory:

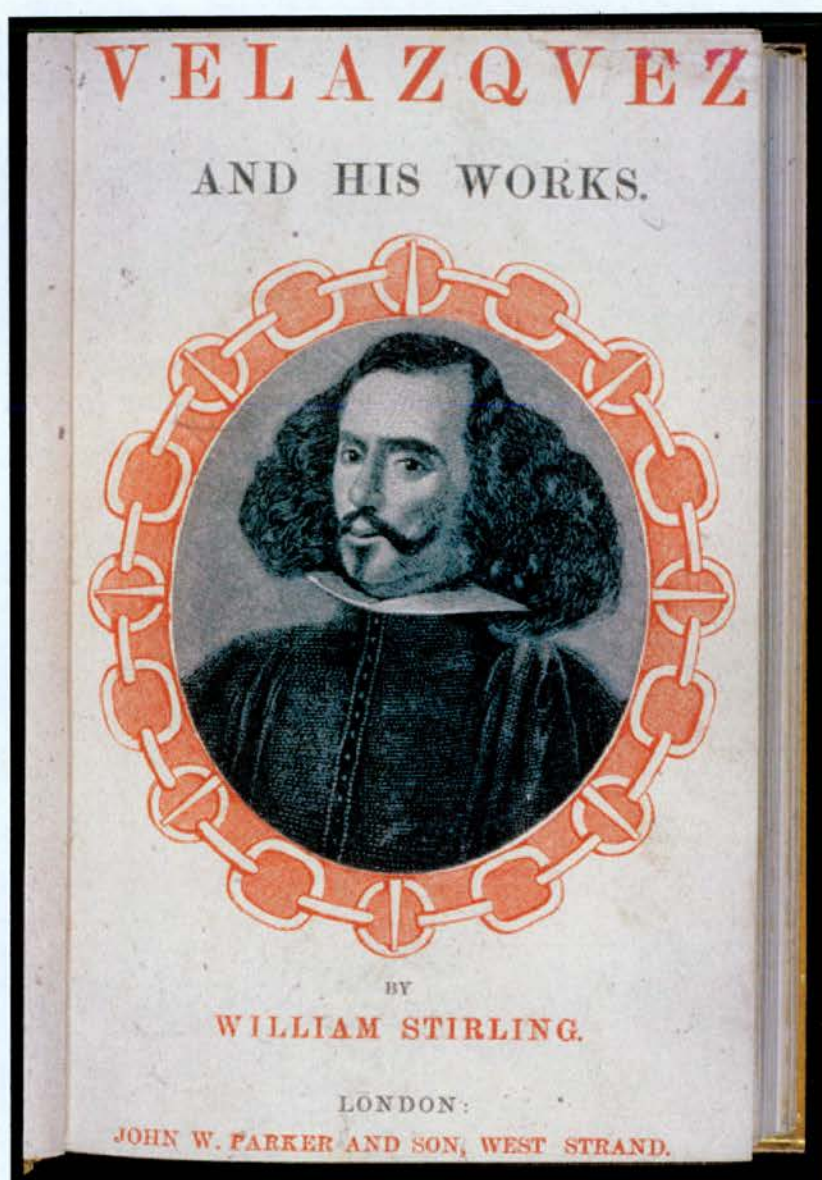
... el autor al describir muchas iglesias que fueron edificadas sobre modelos bizantinos, y al hablar de las cúpulas de la catedral de Colonia, nos suministra armas suficientes para volver contra él sus propios argumentos, y hacernos adoptar la opinión contraria.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ It was a mixture between a periodical and book, which the editors considered a neutral forum for “*todos los hombres y todas las opiniones razonables, aunque opuestas y diversas en el fondo...*” Some of the most important Spanish intellectuals contributed to the magazine, eg. Eugenio Ochoa, Modesto Lafuente and José de Madrazo.

¹⁶² “Crónica Literaria”, (Review of Springer, *Die Baukunst des christlichen Mittelalters*, 1854), *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos (REAM)*, 1855, vol. 3, pp. 247-8

¹⁶³ *Idem*.

¹⁶⁴ *Idem*.



Title page: *Velázquez and his Works* by William Stirling, 1855 –
Reviewed by Gayangos in *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos*, 1855

Gayangos also applied constructive criticism to the *Étude sur le pavage émaillé dans le département del Aisne* by Eduardo Fleury.¹⁶⁵ He conceded that the book was of interest to the archaeologist and antiquarian, containing “*detalles curiosos*” regarding “*carreaux émaillés*”, a type of tile flooring in France that appeared in the 13th century. However, he criticised Fleury for believing it had been brought to France by Oriental artists during or after the Crusades. Gayangos pointed out that Fleury had overlooked the connection with Spain, where the use of tiles for patios and friezes in Moorish houses and mosques was very common. Gayangos argued that the Franco-Spanish relationship had encouraged the diffusion of the use of tiles in France.¹⁶⁶ Gayangos further added more information not given by Fleury on the origin, the development and the use of tiles, in the Orient and in Spain.

Whilst recommending Fleury's book with some reservations, Gayangos whole-heartedly recommended to the Spanish readership *Velázquez and his Works* by William Stirling (plate II),¹⁶⁷ the distinguished collector of Spanish paintings and author of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848); a book which made Stirling the foremost authority in English on Spanish art. Gayangos explained that Velázquez was the most admired Spanish artist in Britain and that the British public had longed for a modern biography. Nowhere in his review is the jibe of the nationalist against foreign scholars encroaching a Spanish territory. He promoted the book as an interesting and extremely entertaining life of Velázquez that was based on the authority of different Spanish, French and Italian seventeenth-century sources.¹⁶⁸ To

¹⁶⁵ Review of Fleury, *Etude sur le pavage émaillé*, 1854, *REAM*, vol 3, p.790

¹⁶⁶ *Idem*.

¹⁶⁷ Review of Stirling, *Velázquez and his Works*, 1855, *REAM*, vol.3, pp. 784-7

¹⁶⁸ “*una escelente vida de nuestro célebre pintor, y un catálogo razonado de sus mejores obras, [...] Mr. Stirling, pues, [...] ha logrado formar un conjunto muy agradable y un libro en extremo entretenido*”, *ibid.*, p.785

the Spanish public, and in particular the Spanish artist, Stirling's book would be of particular interest,¹⁶⁹ because it provided a description of Velázquez' painting in the National Gallery of London: the *Boar Hunt*. Gayangos praised above all the new information on Velázquez' later life in Madrid, lesser known in Spanish accounts of the painter. Other works receiving praise by Gayangos was *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, by the German Gustave Waagen, director of the Royal Museum in Berlin.¹⁷⁰ This too, was a work useful to the Spanish artist for the description of the Spanish paintings in British collections. Forty years later, in a review in 1888, Gayangos recommended Justi's seminal *Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert* to his Spanish readership; a book which to this day is essential reading for any scholar working on the artist.¹⁷¹

Evidently then Gayangos had an interest in the visual culture of Spain. This enabled him to comment with authority on Spanish art; a point which emerges from the frequent references to art, prints, sales and books on art in his correspondence with Stirling. Gayangos was well acquainted with the art market and moved easily within the artistic circles in Spain and Britain. When Gayangos went to visit Stirling in Keir in 1855, he thoroughly enjoyed the collection in his "magnificent and princely residence." Writing from Keir to Prescott, he stated that nothing could be "more delightful than the house and grounds, the former filled with every possible variety of pictures, engravings, antiquities and *objets de vertu*".¹⁷² A few other examples suffice to give an insight into Gayangos' involvement in the art world,

¹⁶⁹ "que no puede menos interesar a nuestros artistas". *Idem*.

¹⁷⁰ *REAM*, 1854, vol 2, pp. 498-507

¹⁷¹ *El Ateneo*, 15 December 1888, (Bibliografía Extranjera), p.168

¹⁷² Gayangos to Prescott, 22 September, 1855, MHS, Prescott papers

something which those who have considered Gayangos, have hitherto entirely neglected: Gayangos tried to help Stirling to have a copy made from a print by Lucas van Leyden (c.1494/1533),¹⁷³ an important Netherlandish artist, the first to establish an international reputation as an engraver while still alive, and who had considerable influence, most notably on Hendrick Goltzius and Rembrandt, but also in Italy. At other times, Gayangos drew Stirling's attention to paintings in private collections, such as "a fine Murillo" in Granada, of which he was going to send the description and measurements.¹⁷⁴ Gayangos knew what he liked and confidently expressed his own opinions, sometimes challenging Stirling's. For example, in 1851, he wrote to him:

I do not agree with you as to Espinosa. I think it is the best I have seen by that painter, and we have nothing like it in our Museum. I agree with you that it will sell better at Madrid, indeed I know that both Madrazo and Carderera were after it.¹⁷⁵

Gayangos could have referred to either Jeronimo Jacinto Espinosa, a well known Valencian painter of religious subjects (1600-1667),¹⁷⁶ or perhaps more likely to the lesser known Juan Bautista Espinosa (1585- 1640); a painter of religious scenes and portraits, but also of still-lives much admired today.¹⁷⁷ Stirling in his *Annals of the Artists of Spain* only commented briefly on the latter but failed to recognise this artist as a remarkable painter.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Gayangos to Stirling, 17 July 1849. Gayangos wrote there was a "hitch about the Lucas de Holanda." But it was difficult to have it copied since librarians were "a queer set" and seemed to "fancy that books and manuscripts...lose their value, the moment they are copied." Mitchell Library Glasgow (MLG hereafter), T-SK 29/5/116

¹⁷⁴ Gayangos to Stirling, n.d T-SK 29/17/45. MLG. No further reference to that painting.

¹⁷⁵ Gayangos to Stirling, 20 September [1851], MLG, T-SK 29/6/6.

¹⁷⁶ Stirling commented on his oeuvre in very positive terms, judging some of his work of "high merit, and little inferior to the works of the Ribaltas." STIRLING, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 1848, vol 2, p. 764

¹⁷⁷ See CHERRY, P., *Spanish Still-Life from Velázquez to Goya*, 1995.

¹⁷⁸ STIRLING, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 1848, vol.2, p. 734.

Often Gayangos reported on collections and sales and books on art. He kept Stirling informed of the most recent publications on Spanish painters, such as *Corona poética dedicada al insigne pintor sevillano* (1863).¹⁷⁹ On pictures sold, he gave his opinion. "Dn José sold the two ebony cabinets to Rothschild for £120. He has not sold any of his pictures yet, nor do I think that he will so easily. ... The little Murillo is not one. The Juan del Arco's are third rate pictures, although the colouring is good and reminds one of the Seville school."¹⁸⁰ In 1867, he alerted Stirling to the sale of José de Salamanca's collection in Paris, which Stirling had missed.¹⁸¹ He secured a copy of the sale catalogue for Stirling indicating in the margins the prices and the names of the purchasers.¹⁸² This catalogue is today at Pollok House library. Gayangos was always aware of new paintings and prints that emerged on the art market, such as an early print found by his friend Valentin Carderera:

really and truly a print bearing the date of 1453 engraved at Barcelona on copper, by a monk of that town. He [Carderera] saw the copperplate in the hands of a German who carried it off and sold it to a collector at Brussels, but he managed to have an impression which he considers as one of the greatest jewels in his collection.¹⁸³

Valentin Carderera (1796-1880), one of Gayangos' closest friends, was a painter from Huesca,¹⁸⁴ who also published on the arts, his most famous work being *Iconografía Española*, which included Carderera's copies made after portraits, statues and monuments of important Spanish figures from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, and their biographies (Madrid, 1855-64). Gayangos was also acquainted with the Madrazo brothers, sons of the old painter to the king, José

¹⁷⁹ Gayangos to Stirling, [between March-June 1864] MLG, T-SK 29.14.126

¹⁸⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 20 September [1851], MLG, T-SK 29/6/6. MLG

¹⁸¹ Gayangos to Stirling, [1867], MLG T-SK/17/45.

¹⁸² Gayangos to Stirling, 20 November 1867. MLG, T-SK 29/17/44. "All pictures marked "Daugny" were bought by the Marquis himself. Cook is I believe Lord Dudley. Fernandina is the Marquis of Villafranca."

¹⁸³ Gayangos to Stirling, 8 October 1858. MLG, T-SK 29 /9/45

¹⁸⁴ Carderera also published: *Catálogo y descripción sumaria de retratos antiguos*, 1877

Madrazo. Pedro Madrazo (1818-1898) edited the first catalogue of paintings of the Prado in 1843.¹⁸⁵ Gayangos' friend Manuel Zarco del Valle published primary material from the Spanish archives as *Datos documentales para la historia del Arte Español, I y II* (Madrid 1916). Zarco himself corresponded with Stirling and other authorities on Velázquez: Carl Justi.¹⁸⁶

What has emerged in this first chapter then is that Gayangos can be seen to have been much more catholic in his sympathies and versatile in his pursuits than previous scholars have recognised. Gayangos is a figure with many facets and several intellectual lives. He was a patriotic scholar, concerned with the improvement of scholarship and the preservation of the national heritage. But his patriotism was not a narrow-minded form of nationalism: He did not regard Spanish culture as the intellectual property of Spanish scholars, as was the case with many of his contemporaries. Rather, he welcomed and supported contributions from foreign scholars. His drive for 'hard fact' and objective history in the vein of Ranke made him an outstanding researcher and editor of original historical material. Gayangos, though an Orientalist by education, was interested in the whole culture of Spain, not just the Moorish dimension. With all this in mind we shall now turn to Gayangos' contributions and influence on Anglo-American Hispanism.

¹⁸⁵ Madrazo y Kuntz, Pedro (Rome, 1816-Madrid, 1898). Son of the painter José de Madrazo, brother of painter Federico de Madrazo. He wrote for *El Artista*, *El Español*, *No me olvides*, *Ilustración Española y Americana*, *Almanaque*, published the catalogue of the Prado (1843). Member of the *Academia de la Historia* (1858). His interest in art and archaeology emerges from *Recuerdos y bellezas de España*, *España artística y monumental*, y *España, sus monumentos y su arte*, and articles in *Museo de antigüedades*; *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España* and *Historia de la arquitectura Española*.

¹⁸⁶ Zarco's correspondence with Justi is in the *Biblioteca Nacional*.

Chapter 2: A place at the Table

Gayangos' arrival in Britain in September 1837 was not a jump into icy water. His marriage to Fanny Revell had provided a first connection to Britain, adding a third cultural dimension to his Spanish-French make-up. The marriage was happy. It ended abruptly after twenty-seven years with the death of Fanny in 1855. Gayangos was deeply grieved, writing to Prescott:

I have not been myself ever since, and have been obliged to make a two month's tour through our summer provinces, in order to loose sight of the house formerly inhabited by an *objet* so dear to me... Books are certainly a source of consolation but in the present state of mind I have not had courage to open one ever since my calamity.¹⁸⁷

In Spain, between 1830 and 1837, Gayangos had made further British acquaintances: Penrose Mark, the British consul in Málaga, and his family; George Villiers, British ambassador in Madrid (1833-39), and Henry Southern, secretary to Villiers.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps he also met British diplomats, such as Macpherson-Grant, who had attended a *masquerade* party given by Gayangos' mother, a well known figure in Madrid society.¹⁸⁹ In addition, in 1836/1837, Gayangos, together with his friend, the bibliophile Luis Usoz y Río, had met George Borrow (1803-1881), whose *Bible in Spain* (1843) is the most famous book on Spain to have been written in the nineteenth century.¹⁹⁰ Both Gayangos and Usoz helped Borrow in the purchase of

¹⁸⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 23 May 1855, Madrid, MHS, P

Gayangos had three children, one of them died in 1844. His daughter Emilia enjoyed a bi-cultural upbringing, spending much of her youth in Spain as well as in Britain.

¹⁸⁸ Gayangos and Southern went to Toledo together, 1836. An account is amongst Gayangos' papers. RAH, Gayangos papers, Folder 1, bundle 3

¹⁸⁹ Captain Cook [Widdrington] to John Macpherson Grant, 2 March 1832. NRA(S), TD1999/31, bundle 119 "I hope you have enjoyed the Carnival and that Madame Gayangos the masquerade lady has not been left short in return for her hospitality." I am indebted to Dr. David Howarth for this reference. On Gayangos' mother, see ROCA, II, 1898, p.27

¹⁹⁰ FRASER, 1994, p.40

books for his literary endeavours. This relationship, although short, was Gayangos' first collaboration with a British author.

When Gayangos arrived in London, he first rented a flat in Woburn Buildings (1 Tavistock Square), not far from St. Pancras, near Somers Town. This was the area where the Spanish emigrants (between 800 and 900) had settled in the 1820s, but had long left by the time of Gayangos' arrival.¹⁹¹ In September 1839, Gayangos moved to a larger house at 9 Burton Crescent, between St. Pancras and the British Museum.¹⁹² It seems that by January 1842 his finances had improved for he moved into a yet more expensive place on 28 Burton Crescent. Gayangos' letters to his close friend, the Spanish composer Santiago Masarnau (1805-1882, a key figure in the history of music in Spain)¹⁹³ show that he felt at first a foreigner in Britain. He often expressed wonder and amazement about life in London, (in a similar way as British travellers did in Spain). An acute and humorous observer, he described the capital as a very busy and interesting place, but also expensive, where people dined at large dinner tables, after having made their way through the "sea-fog", a phenomenon that struck him forcibly:

I would rather call it murk and gloom, a thick yellowish haze that gets in your mouth and nose, not just blocking your way but also choking you up. It is true that for the latter difficulty, they have just invented a sort of horn they call "respirator". You tie it up [around your head] and you can comfortably walk the streets. The only inconvenience is that it makes you look like an elephant.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ On exiles in London, LLORENS, *Liberales y Romanticos*, 1979 (3rd edition)

¹⁹² "una casa mayor ...en Burton St, No 9. Me cuesta £52-10.. A fines de Septiembre me pienso mudar a ella. Como las cosas de España van despacio he tomado un lease de tres años." ROCA, 1898, II, p.73

¹⁹³ Santiago de Masarnau, one of the main figures of the Romantic period in the history of music in Spain. He contributed to the magazine *El Artista* (Spain); and moved in Parisian circles frequented by Chopin and Alkan.

¹⁹⁴ Gayangos to Masarnau, 1 January 1838. ROCA, 1898, II, p.19 "el otro día tuvimos una friolera, de eso que aquí llaman sea fog, y que yo llamaria con mas propiedad lobreguez y tinieblas, vapor espeso y amarillento que se meto por la boca abajo y por las narices arriba, obstruyendote no solo el paso

Gayangos felt proud of having been able to set up house in London. However, he remarked that he had found how foreigners, especially those “with mustaches and above all Spaniards” were mistrusted and never enjoyed extended credit.¹⁹⁵

Starting a new life in London was exciting, but not easy, and not just because of the fog. In order to make ends meet, Gayangos had to work hard. In letters to Spanish friends, frequent references are made to his need for money and endeavours to obtain it:¹⁹⁶ I work and intend keeping working... like a dog and this year I will try to give proof of my advancements in ‘algarabia’ [Arabic studies].” In another letter, he stated that he was always working “like a slave, day and night, because [...], having a wife who ‘wants to be in Society’ is very expensive.”¹⁹⁷ Unlike many other British intellectuals who wrote about Spain, Gayangos was not in the fortunate position of having a private income. He lived from his pen.

Gayangos’ beginnings in London were modest on a financial scale, however, his social life took off with remarkable speed. He established a wide network of socially important contacts and entered intellectual circles: though he was not in a position to return the invitations, nor in the case of his most fruitful contacts, was it appropriate. By 1842, his reputation was such that he was described by George Ticknor, then the world authority on Spanish literature and author of the first *History of Spanish literature* (1849), as one who was always “in good request in much of the best

sino tambien la respiracion, aunque es cierto que para este ultimo mal acaban de inventar una especie de trompa, que llaman respirators, la cual te atas tras y vas por la calle muy comfortable, sin mas inconveniente que el de parecer un elefante.”

¹⁹⁵ *he empezado ya á estas horas lo que se llama run bills up at the tradesmen, como un hombre, aunque con la triste experiencia de que foreigners, with mustachos y sobre todo Spaniards, no gozan de long crédit...”; Ibid., p.70*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid., p.19*

¹⁹⁷ *“yo siempre trabajando como un negro, de día y de noche, porque ahora se trata ya de la bucólica y que, como tu me decías, el tener una mujer ‘who wants to be in Society’ es muy dispendioso...”; Ibid, p.20*

literary society of London."¹⁹⁸ This is a tantalising statement and needs further explanation: who belonged to this "best literary society"? How did Gayangos become part of it? Why did he appeal to the members of the London intelligensia? We shall see that Gayangos' success cannot be explained simply by the publication of *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties* (1840-1843), by then his most celebrated work. Evidence has emerged that the story of Gayangos' appeal and success is more complex.

Gayangos and his wife Frances, once established in London, renewed contacts with Penrose Mark, the British ex-consul whom they had met in Málaga in the early 1830s. By then retired, Mark was now living in Enfield. In 1838, the Gayangos' visited the Marks at their house, where they spent some agreeable, "serene" days. Gayangos nostalgically wrote to his friend that these delicious days in the countryside, away from the foggy and busy streets in London, reminded him of the "transparent sky of Spain."¹⁹⁹ A later reference suggests that Gayangos saw Mark from time to time, and that they conversed about things Spanish, including a portrait of Isabella of Castile by Rincón, the court painter of Ferdinand. Gayangos wrote to Prescott, author of the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1838):

A friend of mine, Mr. Mark, late British Consul at Malaga, has lately shown me one he had brought from Spain – and which I have identified to be the same as that of the Cartuxa – and he has been kind enough to give me a sketch of it.²⁰⁰

The letters suggests a warm friendship with the Marks, but whether Mark himself played any part in introducing Gayangos to intellectual circles in London is

¹⁹⁸ Ticknor to Irving, 31 March 1842, *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, 1909, pp. 245-6

¹⁹⁹ Gayangos to Masarnau, 1 April 1838, ROCA, II, 1898 p.19

²⁰⁰ Gayangos to Prescott, 12 Oct. 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p. 164

impossible to say, since no further evidence has come to light. More facts are available with regard to Gayangos' acquaintance with Lord Holland (Henry Vassal Fox, 2nd Baron Holland), Britain's most famous self-appointed apologist of Spain. It is clear that Gayangos was a frequent visitor at Holland House. Roca was one of the first who mentioned Gayangos in connection with Holland House, however, the significance of Holland House to Gayangos' life and career has never been assessed hitherto.²⁰¹

Gayangos had arrived in London in 1837 armed with a letter of introduction from his supporter George Villiers, the British Ambassador in Madrid, who was, along with Layard, the most committed and effective British representative on Spain in Victorian history. That letter to Lord Holland portrayed Gayangos as a most interesting person. Appealing to Holland's passion for Spain and the Spanish language, Clarendon wrote:

My dear Lord Holland,

As I am sure you still preserve your taste for Spanish literature will you allow me to introduce to your acquaintance a friend of mine -Don Pascual Gayangos... [He] is more versed in the literature of his country and has more extensive bibliographical knowledge than any one I have met with since I came to Spain – ... and I believe he takes with him some of the curious books and M.S.S. w^{ch} he has been able to collect in these tumultuous times and which I doubt not w^d be [a] pleasure to you to see.²⁰²

Gayangos' literary knowledge certainly appealed to Lord Holland. Holland, who was fully fluent in Spanish, often stated that this tongue was superior to other European

²⁰¹ ROCA, II, 1898, p. 25

²⁰² Dr. D. Howarth kindly brought this important letter to my attention.

languages,²⁰³ and he himself had written a book on Lope de Vega: *Some account of the Lives and Writings of Lope de Vega* (1806), which he dedicated to José Manuel Quintana, the Spanish poet, politician and close friend.²⁰⁴ Quintana admired Holland's book and therefore felt honoured by Holland's dedication. He praised the biography as "superb" for its precise and well selected information, which Holland had presented in a structured way. In a letter to Holland, Quintana assured him that other men of letters in Spain thought the same: "*Lo mismo piensan de ella los amigos mios que la han visto*"²⁰⁵ The only point that Quintana criticised was Holland's transcription of certain verses, which were erroneous. He attributed this to the "*vicio de las ediciones antiguas*" which Holland had used. In general, Lord Holland's account of Lope de Vega was well received. However, in England, Holland's book was of great importance as the first in English to bring Lope de Vega to the attention of his compatriots.

Since his travels in Spain, Lord Holland had also acquired Spanish books and manuscripts, mostly relating to seventeenth-century literature and history, but also to geography and natural history.²⁰⁶ He was acquainted with other British intellectuals interested in the same things, such as John Bowring,²⁰⁷ author of a translation of *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain* (1824), which he dedicated to Lord Holland. Gayangos, as bibliophile and literary historian, was therefore of great interest to

²⁰³ EARL OF ILCHESTER, *Chronicles of Holland House 1820-1900*, 1937, p. 182. "After dinner European languages were compared, Holland insisting upon the super-excellence of the Spanish tongue, as was always his wont"

²⁰⁴ Quintana to Holland, 8 December 1806, BL, Add. 51621, f.3

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*

²⁰⁶ List of books, 1810, BL, Add. 51629.

²⁰⁷ BOWRING, John, *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain (selected and translated by John Bowring)*, London, 1824. The book is dedicated to Lord Holland. BARTLE, G., *An old radical and his brood, A portrait of Sir John Bowring and his family*, 1994.

Holland. In addition, Clarendon, in his letter of introduction, highlighted how Gayangos was a “friend and protégé” of José Manuel Quintana:

Gayangos is a friend and protégé of Quintana which I know will be an additional recommendation for him in your eyes.²⁰⁸

The notion of Gayangos as Quintana’s protégé was another reason why Holland should have wanted to get to know him.²⁰⁹ Lord Holland had met Quintana during his travels in Spain and since then, the two men had exchanged letters from 1805 onwards: mostly sharing thoughts on literature and politics, in particular during the period leading to the drafting of the Constitution in 1812, and the ‘Triennium’ government (1820-23). After the 1830s, Quintana’s correspondence with Holland seems to have declined considerably, and in such letters as there were, no reference is made to Gayangos.²¹⁰ What we might think of as a creative triangular relationship between Lord Holland, Quintana and Gayangos is something about which too little is known but would merit further exploration. Gayangos certainly represented for Lord Holland a link to his old friend Quintana, whom he was unable to see. In any event, the notion of Gayangos as Quintana’s protégé, perhaps prompted Lord Holland to take Gayangos under his own wing, too.

Holland’s interest in the Spanish liberal cause is well known.²¹¹ Spain became a laboratory where Holland’s Whig ideas could be tested. Leslie Mitchell pointed out that, for the Hollands, Spain’s “political experiences represented

²⁰⁸ Dr. D. Howarth kindly brought this important letter to my attention.

²⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the correspondence between Gayangos and Quintana has not emerged during my research.

²¹⁰ Part of Quintana’s letters to Lord Holland were edited *Cartas a Lord Holland sobre los sucesos políticos de España en la segunda época consitucional*, Madrid, 1853. More letters are in the British Library (Feb. 1805 to 23 Jan. 1840). BL, Add. 51621

²¹¹ MITCHELL, 1980, pp.196-239

everything that a Whig would wish to demonstrate about European affairs.”²¹² Holland was so deeply involved with Spain’s constitutional cause that he could not be indifferent to the fate of the many Spanish exiles. He helped to organise financial relief for refugees from Ferdinand’s tyranny;²¹³ During the period of the *Triennium* government, Holland also supported the opinion that England should intervene in Spain if the French decided to enter Spain again. After the second failure of the constitutional cause in Spain in 1823, a second wave of exiles arrived. Holland naturally welcomed the most important, such as General Espoz y Mina (1781-1836),²¹⁴ the renowned military leader in the Peninsular War, who enjoyed such a great prestige in England that his appearance in public caused standing ovations; General Alava (1771-1843), who had shown his diplomatic skills in his capacity as “*ayudante de campo*” to the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsula War;²¹⁵ Agustín Argüelles, the liberal involved in the drafting of the 1812 Constitution,²¹⁶ who was admired by Holland for his “unblemished integrity and the dignified earnestness of his eloquence”. Other Spaniards visiting Holland House in the 1820s included the young writer Telesforo de Trueba (1799-1835), who dedicated some of his works to Holland;²¹⁷ and ultimately Blanco White, who came to Britain in 1810. Lord Holland sponsored Blanco editing a new Spanish journal, *El Español*, which was read both in Spain and England. It offered advice and counselling to the liberals themselves, suggesting English models for the constitution. To Holland, it was an avenue to conduct a foreign policy independent of that by the Tory government. In

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.239

²¹³ MITCHELL, 1980, pp.235-236

²¹⁴ ESPOZ Y MINA, *Memorias del general Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, escritas por el mismo*. Published by Juana María de Vega, Condesa de Espoz y Mina, 1851, vol. IV

²¹⁵ LLORENS, 1979, p.25

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.92-103. Also, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, published by John Bowring, Edinburgh, 1843, Vol. X, pp. 594-595

²¹⁷ LLORENS, 1979, p.45

short, until the Ferdinand's death in 1833, Holland House had been where the liberal cause in Spain was promoted and sustained. However, by the time Gayangos arrived in London in 1837, those great days were over. Most exiles had returned to Spain after the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833. Thereafter, the Spanish exile, who had so intrigued Thomas Carlyle, became an uncommon figure in London.

Gayangos had a certain rarity value to Holland and his circle. Between 1837 and 1843, the dinner books not only show Gayangos as the youngest member of the Holland House circle, but also as the *only Spanish intellectual*, who dined there. The only other Spaniard was General Alava, who had become ambassador in London.²¹⁸ He appears as a regular guest in the 1840s.²¹⁹ The British guests who had some direct connection with Spain were David Wilkie and David Roberts. Both of course had a romantic, artistic, indeed superficial approach to Spanish culture. In contrast Gayangos offered scholarly expertise and a view about recent politics in Spain. In a way, Gayangos filled a niche left by previous Spanish intellectuals. This external circumstance, combined with Gayangos' friendship with Quintana, and his literary and bibliographical knowledge helped him to enter Holland House.

Lord Clarendon's letter was Gayangos' *entrée*. There Lord and Lady Holland entertained almost daily, from five to ten guests. Their dinner books have been justly described as "catalogues of talent" which mix political eminence with literary and artistic talent. James Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, referred to Holland

²¹⁸ EARL OF ILCHESTER, *Chronicles of Holland House 1820-1900*, 1937

²¹⁹ The Hollands had met Alava in Madrid in 1804, at a time when he was in disgrace with the Spanish Court. He subsequently assisted the French, and in the early stages of the war even accompanied Joseph Bonaparte to Madrid, but very soon afterwards changed sides. He acted as liaison officer between the Spanish Government and Wellington. Alava was imprisoned on Ferdinand VII's return to power in 1814, and was only released by the intercession of the British Commander-in-Chief. He declined to trust to Ferdinand's specious promises in 1823, and fled to England.

House as a “resort of all that was distinguished”²²⁰ and upon Lord Holland’s death, Greville (Clerk to the Privy Council, 1794-1865) remarked more dramatically, how Holland’s passing away would “produce a social revolution, utterly extinguishing not only the most brilliant, but the only great house of reception and constant society in England.”²²¹ At Holland House Whig politicians mingled with writers from the liberal *Edinburgh Review*, and novelists, from Walter Scott and Charles Dickens to Bulwer Lytton, together with painters, such as Edwin Landseer, David Roberts and David Wilkie. There were historians, Macaulay and Henry Hallam among them, who dominated discussion about exciting new developments in their discipline.

Gayangos was first invited to Holland House shortly after his arrival in London. On 1 October 1837, his name featured for the first time, followed by a short explanatory note: “Pascual Gaya[n]gos - the great Arabick scholar.” At this stage, the dinner books were kept up by John Allen, Holland’s secretary and librarian since 1802, and a political writer in his own right.²²² The surname of Gayangos is difficult to read, which suggests Allen did not know how to spell it. Someone else has written in a different hand ‘Gayangos great Arabick Scholar’. This appears to be contemporary, as though, not long after, someone had seen Allan’s mistake and corrected it. This appellation is interesting since Gayangos had not actually, at this stage, published anything in the Arabic field in Britain, with the exception of his article on the Spanish archives in the *Westminster Review*; his reputation as an Arabist (a teacher, interpreter and bibliophile) was mostly confined to Spain. Saying that Gayangos was as yet “great” was a slight exaggeration by the Hollands, but

²²⁰ Jeffrey to Allen, 25 October 1840, in MITCHELL, 1980, p. 35

²²¹ GREVILLE, Charles Cavendish, *Memoirs 1814-1860*, 1938, IV, p. 351-2

²²² MITCHELL, 1980, p. 25

perhaps a deliberate one to promote Gayangos amongst the other guests and to confirm their status as hosts of an international Salon, which after several decades continued to attract new talent from abroad. The notion of “the great Arabist scholar” would certainly have intrigued any guest who browsed through the dinner book.

From October 1837 until the end of the year, Gayangos dined on occasions at Holland House. During the following two years, his name appears only about five times a year, which seems little. However, the dinner books should not be regarded as the only evidence for Gayangos’ presence at Holland House. Gayangos certainly visited the Hollands more often during the day. He would have also had much to do with Allen, who had always accompanied the Holland’s to Spain. By February 1839 Gayangos was perceived as “Lord Holland’s great friend”²²³ and in 1842 George Ticknor referred to Gayangos as someone who was “much liked at Holland House.”²²⁴ In 1841 Gayangos’ contact with the Hollands declined, he dined only once at Holland House, but this is to be explained by Lord Holland’s death on 22 October, and Gayangos’ own trips to Oxford that year.

Dinners continued after Lord Holland’s death, and in 1842 Gayangos appears about eighteen times in the dinner book, and six times just before he left London in spring 1843. His frequent presence at Holland House after Holland’s death clearly indicates that he got on with Lady Holland. She was, like her husband, fully fluent in Spanish,²²⁵ but had a difficult character. Dinner was always entertaining, never

²²³ Sumner to Hillard, 16 February 1839, PIERCE, 1878, vol. 2, p. 65

²²⁴ *Life of Ticknor*, 1909, (3rd edition), p. 246.

²²⁵ Anecdotes about Lady Holland abounded. She was often imperious toward her guests, her commands were occasionally mocked. For example, when she instructed Sydney Smith “ring the bell Sydney”, he answered “Oh yes, and shall I sweep the floor.” See KRIEDEL, *The Holland House Diaries 1831-40*, 1977, p. xv

boring, and often intimidating.²²⁶ Meek, timid and unamusing were not the attributes describing the profile of a Holland House visitor. Gayangos' presence at Holland House confirms his was a strong intellect, and a robust personality, which allowed him to handle the peculiar character of the hostess and guests and to find his place in the complacent world that was Holland House.

The relationship between Lord Holland and Gayangos was mutually beneficial: Gayangos filled the niche left by the Spanish exiles, whilst the milieu of Holland House served Gayangos as a platform for broadening contacts. We shall examine here how such a community turned out to be a source of permanent advantage to Gayangos as he thought to further his prospects in London. I am going to argue that Holland House was significant to Gayangos' career in Britain for three reasons: It gave Gayangos prestige and helped him to establish himself in social, political and intellectual circles in London. Second, it provided a stimulating place for discussion, where Gayangos could define and assert himself whilst sharpening his own views on a variety of matters. Third, Lord Holland actively promoted Gayangos as a writer. In short, Holland House had a direct and important influence on his career.

It is important in any assessment of the place of Gayangos in Anglo-Hispanic relations to explore the significance for him of the most important acquaintances he made at this Whig establishment. There were the historians, who could stimulate views on this genre of writing: Francis Palgrave and Henry Hallam. Gayangos met

²²⁶ MITCHELL, 1980, p. 34

Palgrave (1788-1861) at his second dinner on 28 October 1837.²²⁷ Palgrave was a distinguished medievalist: his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (1832) was described at the time in the *Edinburgh Review* as “the most luminous work” on the history of the institutions of England.²²⁸ Since its publication it has long been superseded by other studies, but it is still significant as the first comprehensive study of English institutional history. More importantly, Palgrave undertook essential work for the Record Commission (founded in 1802 to provide for the better arrangement, preservation and use of public documents).²²⁹ Palgrave as the first ‘Deputy Keeper’ of the Public Record Office collected “the treasures hitherto dispersed in many places into a single repository”,²³⁰ and his most lasting achievement consisted in the edition of historical documents. As it happens, Palgrave was not particularly interested in Spain,²³¹ but his passion for antiquarian research and his enthusiasm for making historical documents available certainly reinforced the example Gayangos had observed in Spain: there Fernández Navarrete had edited an important body of primary sources on Columbus, which was greatly appreciated by the distinguished American historian William Hickling Prescott. Palgrave’s work certainly encouraged Gayangos in his own view of the importance of editing manuscripts which could illustrate history. Gayangos came to appreciate through

²²⁷ “28 October 1837 –

Gayangos, Francis Palgrave, Mr. Van de[l]weyer,
Mr. Bouverie, Mr. M [March] } slept

Holland House Papers, Add 51955, (28/10/1837), BL.

²²⁸ Palgrave’s book *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (1832) was described in the *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1832, pp.305) as “the most luminous work that has been produced on the early institutions of England.”

²²⁹ KENYON, 1983, p.150

²³⁰ Palgrave undertook the best work of the Record Commission. He edited the “Parliamentary Writs” which was well received. Palgrave was appointed Deputy Keeper in 1838 and collected “the treasures hitherto dispersed in many places into a single repository.” See GOOCH, G.P., *History and Historians in the nineteenth century*, London, 1913, p286-88

²³¹ For Palgrave’s interest in Italy, see PALGRAVE, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 1842; and “Fine Arts in Florence” in *Quarterly Review*, June 1840

contact with Palgrave the value of making primary sources available so that hereafter, he would be himself an indispensable aid to those whose ambition, in the spirit of Leopold Ranke, was to use facts derived from documents.

Palgrave also represented Gayangos' first acquaintance with a contributor of the *Edinburgh Review*, a prestigious liberal magazine established in 1802 to provide a forum for intellectual debate. The most outstanding British intellectuals of the time, Thomas Carlyle and Macaulay to name just two, wrote for the *Edinburgh Review*. The editors and most of the contributors were intimately connected to Holland House, where the magazine was regarded as a mouthpiece for the literary and political values of the Holland circle. Gayangos met at Holland House two of the four founders of the Whiggish magazine, first Sydney Smith in 1837, and later Lord Jeffrey in 1840.²³² Jeffrey was a frequent guest at Holland House, and Smith, then canon of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, was a very close friend of the Hollands and an *habitué* at their house.²³³ Gayangos' literary and historical knowledge appealed to their intellectual interests. In 1837, Smith might already have perceived Gayangos as an obvious candidate for a review on a Spanish subject. We will see in a later section how the connection to figures linked to the *Edinburgh Review* considerably furthered Gayangos' career.

²³²BL, Dinner book, Add. 51955, f. 166b. Dinner on 13 December 1837 included: "Ld and Ly Langdale, Henry and Ly Augusta Fox, Mr. Gayangos, Mr. Smith Mr Edwin Landseer, Mr [Coolryche], Mr Walter Webster"

Add. 51955, f. 173, Dinner on 4 March 1838, Sunday: "Sir Augustus and Lady Clifford, Mr. and Mrs Sydney Smith, Mr. Hallam, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Gayangos"

BL, Dinner book, Add 51956, f. 28 April 1840. Dinner included: "Mr. Guizot, Lord Melbourne, D. John Russell, Ld Duncannon, Ld Jeffrey, Mrs Jeffrey, Mr. Empson, Mr Tho Thomson, Mr. Gayangos, Mr. Kenney,

Baron Bal.. Mr. Luttrell }slept"

²³³ See *Letters of Sydney Smith*, Oxford, 1985

During his first year at Holland House, Gayangos overlapped with Henry Hallam (1777-1859), thirty-two years his senior, and an intimate friend of the Hollands.²³⁴ Hallam was of independent means, and like Palgrave, devoted to medieval history. He had gained his reputation through his *Sketch of Europe in the Middle Ages* (1818), described as “the beginning of systematic historical study in England.”²³⁵ Later, Hallam turned his interest to literature and published *Introduction to European Literature* (1837-9), which was influenced by Bouterwek and Sismondi.²³⁶ The combined interest in medieval history and European literature provided common ground for discussion between Gayangos and Hallam. As a historian of Europe, Hallam had a more pronounced interest in Spain than Palgrave. This suggests that the acquaintance with a young Spanish scholar pleased him. He would have been interested in sharing his views with Gayangos on Spanish history in general, and especially on the recent book by William Hickling Prescott *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, published in America in 1837. Perhaps stimulated by a discussion with Gayangos on that subject, Prescott’s book stayed on Hallam’s mind. In a later conversation at the Athenaeum with Charles Sumner, (the Bostonian statesman, later famous as a most important opponent of slavery), Hallam talked about Prescott’s book and “praised it very much.”²³⁷

Other guests had different backgrounds and talents, suggesting there were never ‘Spanish’ dinners per se, but social intercourse rather consisted of a mixture of

²³⁴ BL, Holland House Papers, Add. 51955, f. 173, Dinner on Sunday, 4 March 1838 included Hallam as a guest.

²³⁵ GOOCH, 1913, p.282

²³⁶ Bouterwek, *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, 12 vol., 1805-1819; Sismondi, *Litterature du Midi de l’Europe*, 1810; HALLAM, *Introduction to European Literature* 4 vol., 1837

²³⁷ Sumner to Hillard, 4 Dec. 1838, PIERCE, 1878, vol. 2, p. 19. “I met Hallam at the Athenaeum [...] Hallam talked about Prescott’s book, and praised it very much.”

talents and wits. Gayangos met people connected to the arts, science or politics indiscriminately. For example, from 1837 to 1842, Gayangos dined four times with the painter Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1872). At that time, Landseer was mostly known for his paintings of burlesque subject matter and his portraits, and he was soon to become the favourite painter of Queen Victoria.²³⁸ Although Landseer had little interest in Spain, the two men certainly shared a sense of humour, a taste for irony and a biting wit.²³⁹ However, Gayangos never sat down with David Wilkie or David Roberts, the two Scottish painters who had travelled in Spain in the later 1820s and 1830s. This again suggests how the Hollands never looked for a themed dinner party, for a purely 'Spanish' table, but always for a variety of all the talents.²⁴⁰

Politicians, ambassadors or diplomats abounded at Holland House, including foreigners.²⁴¹ Sylvain Van de Weyer (1802-74), the Belgian Minister in London from 1831 to 1867, a friend of the Hollands and Sydney Smith, was one of the first diplomats that Gayangos met.²⁴² As it was often the case with ambassadors, Van der

²³⁸ Landseer was renowned for his burlesque subject matter, such as *Low Life* and *High Life* or *Jack in Office*, in which he contrasted opposite classes of society as reflected in their dogs: the aristocratic deerhound and the butcher's mongrel. Landseer also painted portraits of the aristocracy and the royal family (1839-1866).

²³⁹ Dinner book, 13 December 1837, BL, Add. 51955, f. 166b, 16 February 1838, BL, Add. 51955, f. 172;

²⁴⁰ Wilkie dined at Holland House on 15 December 1839, (with "Lord Melbourne, E. Stanley, Astor, Austen, Ellis, Chas Howard, Ed. Bouverie, Luttrell, Cowper, Danvers."); 27 December. On 26 December, David Roberts "with his views of Palestina and Egypt" dined at Holland House, with "Mr. Barry, Mr. Cavrich Moore, Ld Russell, Mr Chas Howard, Mr Rogers, Miss Rogers, Mr. Edwin Landseer." BL, Add. 51956, ff. 38-39.

²⁴¹ Gayangos met Edward Ellice (1781-1863), a Whig of independent views, at least three times at Holland House (March 1838 to Feb 1839). BL, Add. 51955, f. 174, 182 b; Add 51956, f. 11. Ellice was a first rate man of business with interests in Canada and New York State. See notice in *Letters of Sydney Smith*, Oxford, 1985, p. 607

Several times, Gayangos shared the table with Lady Cowper (widow of Lord Cowper, 1837). She later married Lord Palmerston (1839) The fact that they coincided several times with Gayangos, suggests that they got on well, although she irritated Ticknor, who referred to her and her daughter as "*mater pulchra, filia pulchrior*." *Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor*, 1909, p.183.

²⁴² See *Letters of Sydney Smith*, Oxford, 1985, p. 656. Van de Weyer's father-in-law was the American Joshua Bates (1788-1864), senior partner in Barings Bank, who enabled Ticknor to found the Boston Public Library. Smith describes Van de Weyer as his close friend, and "the greatest of all diplomats", p. 801. Gayangos met him on 28 October 1837. BL, Dinner Book, Add 51955.

Weyer also had literary interests: he was member of the London Philobiblon Society and became a regular correspondent on books and manuscripts with Stirling-Maxwell. In 1863, he published *Choix d'Opuscules de Philosophie, Historique, Politiques et Littéraires*. Gayangos got to know Van der Weyer very well and relied on him to plan his investigations for Prescott in the Belgian libraries.²⁴³

In 1840 Gayangos also met members of the government, such as the Prime Minister Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary, who was passionate about Spain since his tour in Spain with the Hollands in 1807.²⁴⁴ Though no evidence has emerged as to what Gayangos discussed with the most prominent Whig politicians, we can speculate that they were interested in Gayangos' own views on political developments in Spain. After all, Spain was regarded at Holland House as "an extension of Whig battles in England" and a "test case of how far consitutionalism would be allowed to take root in Western Europe."²⁴⁵ Spain would particularly interest Lord John Russell, who had been at Yuste just before the great battle of Vitoria. Like Holland himself, he had some literary ambitions. In 1823, he translated Schiller's tragedy *Don Carlos*.

Indirect evidence suggest that Melbourne and Lord John Russell may have seen Gayangos not as "a great Arabist", but as a Spaniard who could serve the British government abroad, in Spain or North Africa, as a secret agent, a spy *tout*

²⁴³ "Mr. Van de Weyer, whom I know intimately, has written to the Custodian of Mansucripts in the Public Library of Brussels to inquire whether there is anything there especially to our purpose" Gayangos to Prescott, 27 January 1842, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.281

²⁴⁴ Dinner Book. Add 51956, 28 April 1840: "Mr. Guizot, Lord Melbourne, D. John Russell, Ld Duncannon, Ld Jeffrey, Mrs Jeffrey, Mr. Empson, Mr Tho Thomson, Mr. Gayangos, Mr. Kenney, Baron Bal.. Mr. Luttrell }slept"
Add. 51957, f. 25b; 31 July 1841: "Ld [Normanby], Ld Duncannon, Mrs. Lamb, Mr. Charles Gore, Mr. Charles Buller, Mr Gayangos, Sir Stephen Hammerick"

On Lord John Russell's trip to Spain with the Hollands, MITCHELL, 1980, p.26

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.217

court. A year after Gayangos' first dinner with Melbourne and Russell, Gayangos was asked by "one of the most influential members" of the British cabinet to go on a secret mission to Africa of political character and also to collect Hispano-Islamic literature for Britain. Holland House is the likeliest place in which the idea was first discussed. Gayangos was flattered by the lucrative offer, but declined for the reasons explained earlier.²⁴⁶

Most important was Gayangos' acquaintance with the diplomat Henry Bulwer (1801-72), the elder brother of the novelist Edward Bulwer Lytton. They met on 16 February 1838.²⁴⁷ Bulwer was a man of great talent, and at the time secretary of the embassy at Constantinople. In November 1843, Bulwer was appointed ambassador in Madrid. By then Gayangos had returned from London to Madrid too and changed his mind about the job offer as secret agent. There is unpublished evidence that during Bulwer's time at Madrid, Gayangos was paid "£400 a year for the sake of procuring secret information of what was going on." For this purpose, Gayangos needed "to dine with [José] Salamanca and Buschental and translate the evening papers."²⁴⁸ £400 was more than Gayangos' salary at the time (20,000 reales per year) and thus a substantial increase in resources.²⁴⁹ A letter from Gayangos proves that he indeed supplied information on current affairs to the British legation

²⁴⁶ See pp.39-40

²⁴⁷ BL, Dinner Book, Add. 51955, f.172.

²⁴⁸ BODL, Clarendon Papers, C.528. Southern to Clarendon, July 9 1846. Dr.David Howarth brought this important letter to my attention.

²⁴⁹ According to internal evidence, 1000 reales correspond to £12.5. The calculation of the exchange rate is based on two facts: Gayangos stated in 1840 that he had been offered £150 per year for the position as vice consul in Tunis. (Gayangos to Prescott, 17 November 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.270). Pedro Roca, Gayangos' biographer, stated that Gayangos was offered 12,000 reales for the position. It follows that the amount of 12,000 reales corresponds to £150. Therefore, the amount of 20,000 reales would be £250, and therefore significantly less than the amount Gayangos was offered for his services to the British legation.

(see Appendix B).²⁵⁰ He gave his view on the conflicts between the different parties in Spain in the perspective of the coming election, on the marriage question of the Infanta, and reported on scandalous events at court. Further letters suggest that Gayangos continued his friendship with Bulwer as well as with other British diplomats abroad. For example, Gayangos refers to Bulwer in a letter to Prescott, as “My friend Mr. Bulwer”.²⁵¹ When Bulwer left Madrid for a post in the US, he continued to mention Gayangos to acquaintances there, for instance, to Ticknor who reported back to Gayangos: “He [Bulwer] spoke several times of you, as of a person for whom he felt a strong regard, & desired me to send you his very kind remembrances.”²⁵² That Gayangos had good relations with diplomats in general is also clear from his study trip to North Africa in the autumn of 1848. Gayangos, travelling under official protection of the Spanish government, was well received by the Spanish consul in Tangier: He not only lodged at the Spanish consulate, but was also introduced to other European diplomats. Gayangos’ wife wrote to Prescott, that “all the Consuls have paid him the kindest attention, and he has been out Boar Hunting with Mr. May the British Consul – a great sportsman.”²⁵³

We turn now to examine the more confined world of Spanish letters and the direct influence of the Holland circle on the development of Gayangos’ literary career and reputation. Lord Holland had often acted as a patron of men of letters: Blanco White, Sydney Smith, John Allen, or Lord Brougham all depended in some

²⁵⁰ Gayangos to Bulwer, 2 September 1844, BL, Add. 43146, f.389

²⁵¹ Gayangos to Prescott, 18 January 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.436

²⁵² Ticknor to Gayangos, 11 Feb 1851, PENNY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.230

²⁵³ F.Revell to Prescott, 15 December 1848, *Papers of William Hickling Prescott*, GARDINER, 1964, p.263. The British Consul was John Drummond Hay, Tangier. VILAR, “El viaje de Pascual de Gayangos a Marruecos en 1848”, *BBMP* 73, 1997, pp.29-39

way on Lord Holland's literary patronage.²⁵⁴ Lord Holland continued these earlier habits by admitting Gayangos to his house and by actively promoting him as a writer. We examine here how he helped Gayangos to obtain the commission for a review of Prescott's book *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, a critical turning point for the international scholarly status of Gayangos. The book was much admired by the Holland House circle. Hallam praised it, Lord Holland "was in ecstasy about it", and Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), an outstanding administrator of India and prolific author, had read it "with the greatest care" and spoke of it "with the highest praise."²⁵⁵ The book was immediately recognised as a great work, as it is indeed today. Shortly after the publication, Prescott was keen on making it known more widely in Britain through a notice in some important review.²⁵⁶ Accordingly, Prescott's friend, George Ticknor, then in London, approached Lord Holland with the idea of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*.²⁵⁷ Lord Holland approved, and John Allen suggested that Gayangos should write the review.²⁵⁸ Letters were drafted quickly to the editor, Mark Napier. Allen stated that Prescott's book seemed to him

...fit to be reviewed. But not being able to undertake it myself I thought of Gayangos, a Spanish gentleman, being well [armed] in Arabian literature and in the history of his own country...

He further suggested that Gayangos was particularly suitable, because of his expertise on the Moors in Spain and also, because Gayangos owned manuscripts

²⁵⁴ For Smith, Holland secured his living at Foxton; for Wisham, (Edinburgh reviewer), a position in the public accounts. John Allen was the most successful example of Holland's patronage system: he took up a position in Dulwich College, and later became Holland's assistant, secretary and librarian; Holland introduced Lord Brougham into politics (electoral agent, 1807 election), and into Parliament (Duke of Bedford's borough of Camelford) in 1810. MITCHELL, 1985, pp.176-7

²⁵⁵ Sumner to Hillard, 4 December 1838, PIERCE, 1878, vol. 2, p. 19

²⁵⁶ GARDINER, *HAHR*, February 1959, p.84

²⁵⁷ Lord Jeffrey, Allen and Smith also wrote letters to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in support of publication of a review

²⁵⁸ Ticknor, diary, 23 April 1838, *Life of Ticknor*, 1909, p.161-2

which were relevant to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. This “may therefore make his [Gayangos’] article more valuable”.²⁵⁹ Allen also indicated that Gayangos had already thought of publishing an article on Prescott’s book in the *Quarterly*, the rival of the *Edinburgh Review*:

I had heard him say that he had thought of reviewing Prescotts book and of sending his review to the Quarterly. I wrote to remind him of [?] and to suggest that he should transfer his article to the Edinburgh.²⁶⁰

Allen therefore urged Napier to write to Gayangos and commission the review: “You will see from his answer that he is asking to undertake the task and if you approve of it you had better write to say [...] when you would require to have [his Ms].”²⁶¹

Prescott’s book was held in such high esteem at Holland House that Holland and Sydney Smith wrote letters of introduction for Ticknor,²⁶² who specially travelled to Edinburgh to speak to Napier himself.²⁶³ As a result of all this, Napier commissioned the article. Napier had agreed that if Allen did not want to write it, Gayangos should be accepted. On 6 June 1838, Allen informed Napier that Gayangos was working on the review and would send it to Napier at the beginning of

²⁵⁹ Allen to Napier, BL, Add 34619, f. 74, 6 May 1838

²⁶⁰ *Idem*.

²⁶¹ *Idem*.

²⁶² Smith to Napier, 2 April 1838, BL, Add. 34619, f.4: “The bearer of this Letter is Mr Ticknor of Boston in America – ... give him full audience on such literary subjects as he wishes to present to your notice.”;

Ld Holland to Napier, 4 April 1838, Add 34619, f.12: “It is almost unnecessary to give a letter of introduction to Mr Ticknor of Boston as I am sure his name from the number of literary friends you have in common would be sufficient recommendation but he [?] me by supplying that my testimony can be of service to him, and I can with great truth assure you that I know no one so well qualified to give you an impartial and interesting account of his own country and especially of the state and progress of its literature and [...] He is I believe desirous of recommending some recent and remarkable publication to the notice of our Reviews and of the Edinburgh particularly.

²⁶³ Ticknor, diary entry 23 April 1838, in *Life of Ticknor*, 1909, p. 161-2: Napier said it [the book] had been sent to him, but that he had not looked at it, and knew nothing about it; so that the whole of his kindly promptness was owing to the letters I brought him, which to be sure would carry as much weight with them as any in the Three Kingdoms.”

If Gayangos had not written the review, Napier would have asked “Dunlop, the author of the ‘History of Fiction,’ who, I suppose, will do it as a sort of hack work, but of whom Napier feels sure.”

September. By the end of August, Allen encouraged Napier to communicate with Gayangos directly, as he and the Hollands were “to set off for Paris” and intended to remain there to the end of October.²⁶⁴ Allen also implied that the review was going to be most positive, since Gayangos had complained that “the book is so good he will have little to nothing to object in it.”²⁶⁵ When Gayangos finished his article, he contacted Napier directly, writing:²⁶⁶

I have delivered ... the article you required me to write on Mr. Prescott's history of the reign of Ferdinand & Isabella, and I take this opportunity to acknowledge myself. I deem it unnecessary to state, that should you at any time require my services, I will be very glad to execute your orders in any way connected with Spanish or oriental literature.²⁶⁷

His article appeared in 1839.²⁶⁸ This first commission was a decisive event. The *Edinburgh Review* had a wide readership, having a subscription list of 12,000 (that was more than the daily circulation of the Times, which was only 8,000).²⁶⁹ The article promoted Prescott's book and set him up for the British readership, though it was too good for Gayangos' career in Britain. Writing for what might today be called a “research review”, Gayangos built up a reputation as a man of letters. Hereafter and until the death of Prescott in 1858, Gayangos' name became permanently associated with Prescott.²⁷⁰ Intellectuals interested in Prescott now automatically became interested in Gayangos, as the reviewer of the work. For example, it was this article,

²⁶⁴ Allen to Napier, 30 Aug 1838, BL, Add. 34619, f. 348

²⁶⁵ Allen to Napier, 6 June 1838, *ibid.*, f.143

²⁶⁶ Gayangos to Napier, n.d., *ibid.*, f. 584

²⁶⁷ Gayangos to Napier, 21 J[uly], BL Add. 34620, f.41

²⁶⁸ LXVIII (1838-9, pp.376-401).

²⁶⁹ Outstanding writers contributed, e.g. Walter Scott, Macaulay, Carlyle. MASSIE, A., “Maddest of Tribunals”, *Times Literary Supplement*, 9 August 2002, p.12. Dr. D. Howarth kindly brought this article to my attention.

²⁷⁰ “Prescott's book had been reviewed in the ‘Edinburgh.’ The author is Mr. Gayangos, a Spaniard and great friend of Lord Holland. He also wrote the article on the Moors in the ‘London and Foreign Quarterly’ for January.” Sumner to Hillard, 4 February 1839, PIERCE, 1878, vol.2, p.58

which brought Gayangos into contact with Britain's most talented writer on Spain:

Richard Ford. Ford wrote to Gayangos:

Muy señor mio y de mi mayor Aprecio,
I heard from Mr Beauclerk, that he had had the good fortune to make your acquaintance which I much envied him, since I read your article on Prescott.²⁷¹

Gayangos reported to Prescott in January 1841: "I owe his gratitude [Ford's] to my article on Ferdinand and Isabella, since as soon as he had read it he wrote me various observations on it showing a desire to confer with me."²⁷² This initiated a long collaboration and friendship between Gayangos and Ford (discussed in Chapter Four).

It was also at Holland House that the friendship between Gayangos and George Ticknor was forged. Ticknor met Gayangos in June 1838 at a dinner there; a few months after Napier had commissioned Gayangos.²⁷³ Later Ticknor remembered that their dinner was served in the Grand Gilt Room, where the party "larger than usual", sat "at that very agreeable round table." Ticknor sat next to Gayangos, "the Spaniard I was desirous to see, because he is to review Prescott's book"; recording his first impression thus:

The Spaniard - about thirty-two years old, and talking English like a native, almost - I found quite pleasant, and full of pleasant knowledge in Spanish and Arabic, and with the kindest good-will towards "Ferdinand and Isabella."²⁷⁴

The guests later went into the 'old library' where everyone stayed very late, "gossiping and talking over odd books, old Spanish manuscripts, and the awkward

²⁷¹ Ford to Gayangos, [January 1841], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p. 3

²⁷² Gayangos to Prescott, 27 January 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.196

²⁷³ *Life of Ticknor*, 1909, p.183

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-2. Gayangos was only 29.

state of parties in Britain.”²⁷⁵ Spanish manuscripts were the centre of Ticknor’s life since he was then preparing his book on the history of Spanish Literature (later published in 1849), and in Gayangos he would have found an intellectual sparring partner. Gayangos and Ticknor remained in contact and developed a long-lasting friendship and literary collaboration.

The friendship with Ticknor led to Gayangos’ acquaintance with Washington Irving, author of *Tales of the Alhambra*, which had opened up Moorish Spain to the Anglo-American imagination. In February 1841 Irving had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary in Madrid. Ticknor and Prescott immediately thought of Irving as a possible literary aid in Madrid. In 1842 Ticknor explained to Irving that initially Gayangos had volunteered to procure for him a series of manuscript copies and books in Madrid, but that Gayangos was not able to help him further since he was leaving for Tunis where he had been appointed Spanish consul. Therefore, Ticknor asked Irving to meet Gayangos in London, who would then pass on to Irving Ticknor’s literary requests:

I wish your permission to have him come and see you in London, which I will desire him to do, and let him give you a written memorandum of what he has ordered for me in Madrid, the person of whom he has ordered it, and the best mode of accomplishing [it]. This is all I desire, which is really not much... Pray do not think me unreasonable, and pray refuse me plainly if you foresee more trouble in it than I do.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ ... “I was sorry to come away, for I shall never be there again; but it was nearly one o’clock when I reached [home].” *Idem*.

²⁷⁶ Ticknor to Irving, 31 March 1842, *Life of Ticknor*, 1909, p. 245-6

Ticknor described Gayangos to Irving as a man of "vast Arabic learning", well known at Holland House and in constant demand in the highest literary circles in London.²⁷⁷

Irving replied to Ticknor on 6 April 1842 that he would be pleased to receive Gayangos and to execute Ticknor's wishes.²⁷⁸ Gayangos never took up the position as vice-consul in Tunis, but instead, was appointed professor of Arabic at the University in Madrid. Irving was pleased about this change, as this gave him the opportunity to see more of Gayangos. In a later letter written from Madrid, Irving stated: "I was very much pleased with what I saw of him [Gayangos] in London, and shall be most happy to renew my acquaintance with him here."²⁷⁹

Irving administered Ticknor's fund for buying books, whilst Gayangos searched, selected and bought books and manuscripts for Ticknor.²⁸⁰ Prescott, too, relied on the help of Irving and Gayangos for research in the maze of Spanish archives, especially Simancas. Chapters Five and Six give a close insight into Ticknor's and Prescott's dependence on Gayangos.

Gayangos was not merely an amanuensis for Irving, but became part of Irving's circle of Anglo-Hispanic friends in Madrid. These included the old Spanish liberal and Lord Holland's friend Antonio Argüelles, and Angel Calderón de la Barca (1790-1861), the Spanish minister to the US from 1835 to 1839, and to Mexico from 1839 to 1841, and to the US again from 1844 to 1853 with his remarkable Scottish wife Fanny (nee Erskine, 1804-1882), who later became tutor to the Spanish Infanta

²⁷⁷ *Idem.*

²⁷⁸ Irving to Ticknor, 6 April 1842. *The Complete Works of Washington Irving. Letters*, vol III, 1839-1845, Boston, 1982, p. 209

²⁷⁹ Irving to Ticknor, 11 Jan. 1843, *ibid.*, p. 462

²⁸⁰ "When he [Gayangos] comes, I shall attend to your wishes in facilitating his researches, advancing funds &c", *idem.*

and was to Prescott a source of inspiration for his *Conquest of Mexico*.²⁸¹ Gayangos remarked that he saw the Calderons very frequently, who were in his words “a most delightful couple”,²⁸² with whom he often talked about Prescott.²⁸³ The Calderons liked Gayangos too. After they abandoned Madrid for Washington, they continued to be interested in Gayangos and his forthcoming translation and annotation of Ticknor’s *History of Spanish Literature* (*Historia de la Literatura Española*, 1851-1854).²⁸⁴ When Irving was recalled, Gayangos disliked the change and said so to Prescott, who remarked philosophically that “Washington Irving’s don’t grow on every bush.”²⁸⁵ As for Irving, he appreciated the friendship of Gayangos, but whether he was really interested in his scholarship or saw him merely as Ticknor’s and Prescott’s agent is not clear. Irving, not being a scholar himself, was in no position to judge upon the credentials of Gayangos in this sphere. His diplomatic position and duties in Madrid, as well as his poor health, prevented him from undertaking any literary task. According to his biographer, he no longer filled notebooks with passages from Spanish literature and no longer jotted down ideas for stories; he read very little except an occasional novel, and although he moved in the best literary circles, his interest in literature was dying.²⁸⁶ Perhaps, it was due to Gayangos’ encouragement that Irving however still managed to produce *The Life of Mohammed*.

²⁸¹ WILLIAMS, *The Spanish Background to American Literature*, 1955, p. 300. There were also two nieces of the Calderons, and a Mr Weston, an American visitor (lawyer, former soldier). Irving to Sarah Storrow, 13 April 1843 in *Complete Works of Washington Irving*. 1982, vol III, pp. 720-1

²⁸² Gayangos to Prescott, 8 Nov. 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.404

²⁸³ Gayangos to Prescott, 10 Oct 1843, *ibid.*, p.397 Also, Fanny Calderon to Prescott, 17 November 1843, *ibid.*, p.410: “It is a week since I have seen Gayangos. He is very seldom so long without paying us a visit.”

²⁸⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 April 1850, in PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.206, “At Washington, I often saw Mr. Calderon, my old friends and yours. He ... takes a great interest in your translation.”

²⁸⁵ Prescott to Gayangos, 9 October 1846. PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p. 65.

²⁸⁶ WILLIAMS, *The Life of Washington Irving*, Vol. II, p. 197.

From Holland House, Gayangos' most important platform for networking, we turn now to a less important point of contact: The Adolphus family in London. This contact existed long before Gayangos moved to England in 1837. According to Roca, John Adolphus (1770-1845), had been Frances Revell's guardian after the death of her mother. Certainly, Gayangos' family developed a warm friendship with Adolphus's son John Leycester Adolphus (1795-1862), whose wife was the bridesmaid at Gayangos' wedding. She subsequently became the godmother of their daughter Emilia, who spent much of her youth with the Adolphus family. It seems the Adolphus house was always open to Gayangos' family.²⁸⁷ Besides hospitality and friendship, this locale also offered an *entrée* into London's society. John Leycester Adolphus was a distinguished lawyer with literary interests and many creative friends. Adolphus had discovered that Walter Scott was the author of what hitherto had been the anonymous Waverley novels, and he made this discovery public. As a result, a warm friendship developed between him and the writer. Adolphus himself published *Letters from Spain in 1856 and 1857* (1858), and later completed his father's *History of England* (1862).²⁸⁸

A letter gives us a glimpse of a dinner held in February 1838 at Adolphus' house: The table was shared by Adolphus, Gayangos, his wife Frances, the historian Macaulay and Charles Sumner, to whom we have referred above. Sumner described the dinner in a letter to America. The host himself, Adolphus, was "quiet as usual" and the guest, Macaulay, has "neither grace of body, face, nor voice" and was "truly

²⁸⁷ ROCA, in *RABM*, II, 1898 pp. 28-29

²⁸⁸ In 1821, J.L. Adolphus published *Letters to Richard Heber*, in which he identified Scott as author of the Waverley novels. When Scott discovered that J.L. Adolphus was behind the *Letters to Richard Heber*, a warm friendship developed between the two men. He was also author of *Letters from Spain in 1856 and 1857* (1858).

oppressive.” Sumner admired the historian for his prodigious memory and knowledge, but disliked him for talking without intonation and variety, pouring on “like Horace’s river, while we, poor rustics, foolishly think he will cease.”²⁸⁹

Gayangos was the person who made the most agreeable impression:

Gayangos, you know, is a Spaniard, and was Professor of Arabic at Madrid. He is a fine-looking person, with well-trimmed moustaches, and has married a talkative English wife. He is about forty, and has a proper Spanish gravity.²⁹⁰

In reality Gayangos was only twenty nine, just two years older than Sumner, but looked more mature. The subject of their conversation was Prescott’s *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, and Gayangos’ review of it. Gayangos explained that he had not commented on Prescott’s style and had not compared it with another English history, mostly for “fear of its being said that he [Gayangos] (as a foreigner) was no judge of such things.” Gayangos admired Prescott’s book and he never seemed to tire in commending it.” In contrast to the irritating Macaulay, Gayangos seemed very courteous and unpretentious. Yet, confident enough to express criticism of Prescott for being “too much in love with Isabella” and for not paying enough attention to the Arabic facet of the period. He told Sumner how Prescott’s “researches had stopped short with regards to the Moors.” Then Sumner seemed a little piqued by Gayangos’ criticism of his compatriot Prescott, and stated in his letter: “Gayangos, perhaps, is too much in love with the Moors.”²⁹¹

Gayangos thus came across as a knowledgeable person with an independent mind, who defended his own opinion and retained his integrity as a scholar. His criticism irritated Sumner, but also earned him his respect. More importantly,

²⁸⁹ Sumner to Hillard, 16 February 1839, PIERCE, 1878, vol. 2, p. 65

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65

Gayangos invited Sumner to look at his own collection of manuscripts and suggested that he would make them available to Prescott:

He[Gayangos] has been a great mouser in manuscripts, and says that he has some which would be very useful to Mr. Prescott, and which are entirely at his service. Among these is a collection of letters from the Great Captain. He has invited me to examine his treasures; but I fear that I shall fail this time.²⁹²

Sumner left Adolphus' dinner table with a most positive impression of Gayangos as a courteous, unpretentious, knowledgeable and generous Arabist and bibliophile. Thus the reputation of Gayangos as scholar and personality, no less than the intrinsic quality of his manuscript collection quickly came to be appreciated in London as it also crossed the Atlantic and penetrated deep into the intellectual world of Boston. Sumner's views are not to be underestimated. The distinguished American historian John Motley, American Minister to London, regarded Sumner as second only to Lincoln among the heroes of the present age. Upon Sumner's death, Motley wrote a moving comment that reflected Sumner's importance in American public life:

I do not think we ever had exactly such a public man, and it will be most difficult to replace him. What was remarkable about him, ..., was his progressiveness. As a scholar he was always improving, always a hard student. As a statesman he had always an ideal goal far ahead of present possibilities, and yet he lived to see the nation come up to the mark which had seemed so long in the cloudland of fanaticism, while he had again moved far in advance of those original aims. The great gift of keeping his eyes fixed on something far away which was to benefit the nation and the world, of stopping his ears against the chatterings and howlings which had made so many others turn back and so be changed to stone was never more marked in a public man in any country, while the utter absence of self-seeking and vulgar commonplace ambition was equally remarkable. His loss is irreparable to the country and to his personal friends.²⁹³

George Hillard, the man to whom Sumner had confided his thoughts about Gayangos was himself a distinguished figure. He was member of the state House of

²⁹² *Idem.*

²⁹³ CURTIS, *The Correspondence of J.L. Motley*, 1889, p.377

Representatives (1836), and also devoted a large portion of his time to literature. In 1839 he published an edition of the works of Edmund Spenser, and later of a selection of Walter Savage Landor, the poet who had fought in Spain in the Carlist Wars. In 1876, he edited *Life and Letters of George Ticknor*.

Through Hillard, Sumner's positive remarks about Gayangos came to the ears of Prescott. These positive comments, together with the review Gayangos had written of Prescott's book, were especially important to Gayangos. Prescott was extremely pleased with a review, which carefully analysed the book and concluded that it was "one of the most successful historical productions of our time",²⁹⁴ thereby giving Prescott the esteem that he craved. Prescott approached Gayangos asking him for advice on improvements on 20 March 1839: "If I have erred anywhere, from want of authentic documents, I should be very happy to correct it."²⁹⁵ Thereafter, Gayangos not only supplied him with manuscript material for a second edition, but Gayangos also became Prescott's most indispensable aid thereafter. Gayangos relationship with Prescott will be discussed in Chapter Five, but suffice it to say here that the notice in the *Edinburgh Review* was a critical turning point.

Gayangos' *entrée* into the world of the British intelligensia was further helped by Sir Gore Ouseley (1770-1844), chief founder of the Royal Asiatic Society and chairman of the Oriental Translation Committee, the institution at whose expense Gayangos undertook the translation of the al-Makkari chronicle.²⁹⁶ Gayangos was elected member of the Royal Asiatic Society and even sat on the committee. On 19

²⁹⁴ GAYANGOS, "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella", *Edinburgh Review*, January 1839, p. 404

²⁹⁵ Prescott to Gayangos, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p. 3

²⁹⁶ *Books and Manuscripts from the Library of Sir Gore Ouseley, Orientalist and Diplomat*, Grant & Shaw Ltd. Antiquarian Booksellers, catalogue one, 1990, p. 2

September 1837 Ousely recommended Gayangos to Sir Henry Ellis, then Principal Librarian of the British Museum (1828-1856) for a position. He considered Gayangos an excellent Arabic scholar and introduced him to Ellis as such. He suggested that Gayangos would be well suited to catalogue the Arabic material in the British Museum.

It strikes me that the Trustees would do well to engage the service of Signor de Gayangos who although not a sanscrit scholar ... is one the best Arabic Scholars I have met in Europe, and as you are rich in Arabic works in the British Museum, he would amply repay his salary in writing a catalogue raisonnée of them and classifying them.²⁹⁷

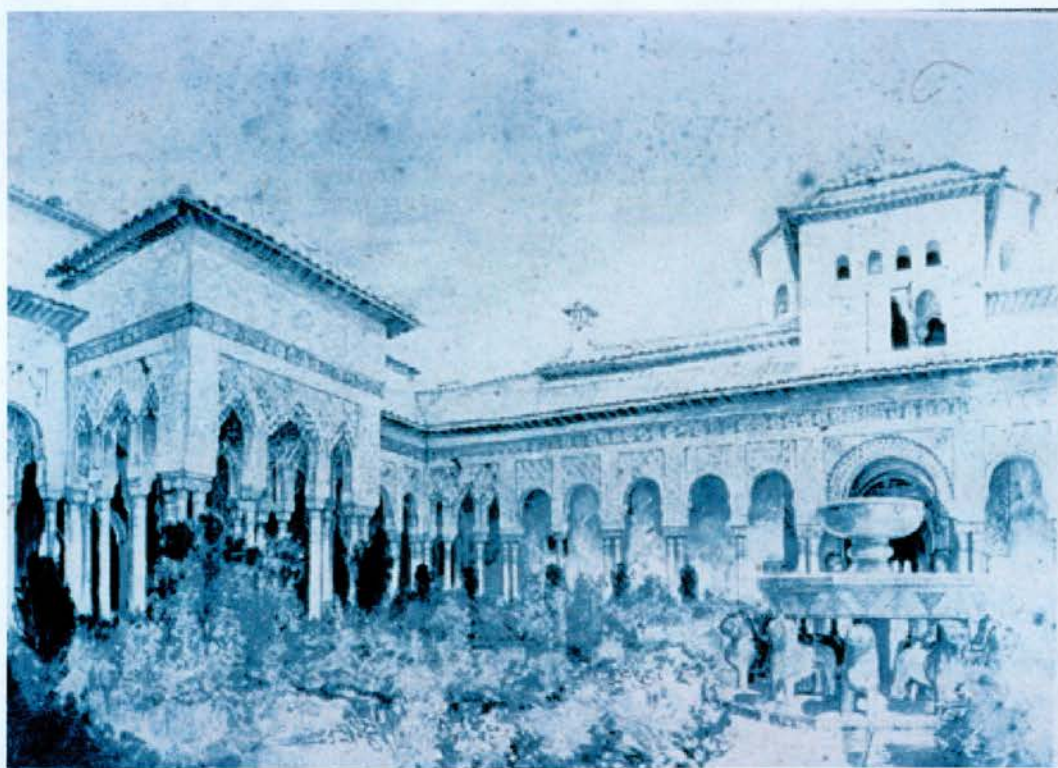
The distinguished Orientalist Ousely was qualified to judge. Although Gayangos never catalogued the Arabic manuscripts, it was through Ousely that he got to know that institution. Gayangos had a working relationship with several figures at the British Museum, such as Frederick Madden, one of the greatest keepers of manuscripts in the history of the British Museum, and who published the standard catalogue of the Bodleian manuscripts. Madden, as well as Henry Ellis, sometimes consulted Gayangos on manuscript matters years before Gayangos started to work on the Spanish manuscript catalogue in the later 1860s.

Gayangos also met two men of letters in 1840: Thomas Wright (1810-1877) and James Orchard Halliwell (later Halliwell Phillipps, 1820/1889),²⁹⁸ both important amateurs of English literature. Halliwell had a true passion for antique and rare editions, and became the biographer of Shakespeare. When Halliwell met Gayangos in 1840, he was only twenty years old, but had been already elected fellow

²⁹⁷ 19 Sept. 1837, BL, Add. 70842, ff.52-54

²⁹⁸ Gayangos to Madden, 23 October 1860, BL, Eg.2847, f. 167. Gayangos informs Madden about his visit in 1835 to the former palace of the Count of Gondomar. There he had discovered pictures and armour (in bad condition), 500 or 600 ancient books, among them an early edition of Shakespeare's Comedies. Gayangos mentions that in 1840 he "made the acquaintance of Dr. Wright, who introduced me to Mr. Halliwell, to whom I mentioned the fact." See also Gayangos to Halliwell, 2 May 1852, UE, L.O.A., vol. 230, ff.31-32

of the *Society of Antiquaries*. Together with his literary collaborator Thomas Wright, ten years his senior, Halliwell published several numbers of *Archaeological Journal of Antiquarian Science* (1841-42), and *Scraps from Ancient MS* entitled *Reliquiae Antiquae*. As for Thomas Wright, his efforts were mostly confined to medieval literature and the sixteenth century. He had already published several books, such as *Queen Elizabeth and her times* (1838). Like Halliwell, he was an indefatigable supporter of the newer literary societies, such as the 'Camden' (1838) and the 'Percy' (1841), forerunners of what we now regard as the backbone of historical studies: the monthly or annual publication of a periodical. Both Halliwell and Wright were particularly interested in Gayangos' knowledge of manuscript material in Spain, which related to Shakespeare and the early Stuart period. Gayangos' correspondence shows that he became a bibliographic consultant to Halliwell and Wright, Ellis and Madden. Before we come to examine the working relationships between Gayangos and British men of letters in more detail in Chapter Four, we shall first turn to Gayangos' own scholarship in Britain between 1837 and 1843.



Harriet Ford, *The Lion Court (Alhambra)*, 1831
Pencil on buff paper, 27 x 51.5 cm, private collection

Chapter 3: Gathering Strength

Gayangos' importance as Arabist has long been recognised. Scholars have commented in detail on his work, in particular on his *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, the translation of the al-Makkari manuscript. However, little has been said about Gayangos' research in British libraries on Islamic material, or about his importance as an Arabist within a British context. In current scholarship on the historiography of Islamic studies, Gayangos' role is always confined to Spain, where he is seen as the "doyen of Arabic studies";²⁹⁹ the first to establish the academic study of both Arabic and Islam in Spain.³⁰⁰ Yet, the British context is of central relevance to Gayangos' own career and to British scholarship. After all, Gayangos' *Mohammedan Dynasties*, his most important contribution to scholarship on al-Andalus, was commissioned by a British institution and published in Britain. Furthermore, Gayangos published a series of articles on Arabic issues in British magazines. However, many have been ignored so far. Thus there are ample grounds for exploring what is an important facet of his life as a scholar, which has never been examined.

Though Gayangos' take on Moorish Spain involved a distinctively new approach, his work benefited from the Romantic interest in Orientalism. Andalucia with its long Moorish past represented the nearest place for the European to admire Islamic architecture, in particular the Alhambra in Granada (see plate III). Moorish

²⁹⁹ BRETT, "Introduction to the new edition of Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain" in *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos (1840-43)*, 2002

³⁰⁰ MANZANARES DE CIRRE, *Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 1972, pp. 83-101. MONROE, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship*, 1970, pp. 66-83

Granada had been opened up to the English-speaking public by Washington Irving, through his *Conquest of Granada* (1829) and *Legends of the Alhambra* (1832),³⁰¹ the latter a chronicle of the “true and fabulous” stories, which were connected with the Moorish palace. Following Irving’s picturesque and exotic portrayal of the Alhambra, it became increasingly a mecca for Europeans.

Here I am going to argue that Gayangos distanced himself from this overtly romantic approach to Spain, and also from the earlier Spanish historians who commented on Moorish Spain. Gayangos’ motivation, which was not partisan but to some extent patriotic, can be deduced from the preface to his book *Mohammedan Dynasties*. Gayangos deplored the prejudiced vision about Arabs as “enthusiastic warriors whose victorious arms spread terror and consternation over our continent... a ruthless nation, hostile to science and polite literature.”³⁰² These misconceptions resulted from erroneous historical writing entirely based on Christian chronicles and thus reflected a distorted, one-sided image. Gayangos pointed out that it was only from the eighteenth century onwards that Spanish scholars had made some attempt to interpret the Islamic period of Spain with the help of Arabic sources. That is to say, on its own terms. Yet it was his view that not much progress had been made.³⁰³ The only historian he identified with was Antonio Conde: the first to attempt the history of the Spanish Moslems drawn entirely from Arabic sources: *Historia de la denominación de los árabes en España* (1821). Whilst Gayangos saw himself as a

³⁰¹ *The Alhambra, a Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards*, 1832 (American ed.). By 1834, the 5,500 copies of the first printing were sold out. The English edition was called *The Alhambra* by G. Crayon (Irving’s pseudonym) with similar success.

³⁰² GAYANGOS, 1840, p.vii

³⁰³ Earlier historians included Miguel de Luna (*Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, 1592, reprinted in 1600, 1603, 1606, 1646, 1653, 1654, 1675, which in Gayangos’ view was intended as a hoax; Casiri’s *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* (1760-70) was “hasty and superficial” with “frequent unaccountable blunders”, yet containing the first glimpses of “historical truth.”; Faustino de Borbon’s *Cartas para ilustrar la historia de España*, 1796, showed “vast erudition” but included “untenable” historical points, and indulged in “the wildest speculations.” GAYANGOS, 1840, pp.ix-x

direct follower of Conde's pioneering use of Arabic sources, he condemned Conde's unscholarly methodology, which only led to further misconceptions about al-Andalus.³⁰⁴ Conde's narrative was made up of many detached fragments translated from Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial, linked together without any regard to the age or style of the respective authors from whom they were taken. Conde even altered the names of well known cities and towns, he had no fixed system of orthography, and spelled names in different ways throughout his work. Conde was not in command of his sources.

In Gayangos' mind, it was necessary to master the primary sources in Arabic first. Here, the manuscript by the seventeenth-century writer al-Makkari presented an ideal choice for illustrating the entire history of al-Andalus, since it does not deal with isolated facts about the Moorish domination of Spain, but rather, provides a synoptic account of the Moors in Spain. The manuscript, written in Damascus about twenty years after the expulsion of the Moors (1609) consisted of a compilation of copies of the original texts of earlier Andalusian historians, which were reproduced juxtaposed and unaltered. Gayangos concluded that the

Al-makkarí transmits to us a collection of historical extracts and fragments relative to the history of Spain, taken from works, the titles of which, as well as the names of their authors, are in most instances given; and thus presents the original text of ancient historians whose writings are now probably lost.³⁰⁵

Gayangos argued that the manuscript was unique in its uninterrupted narrative of settlements, conquests and wars from the first invasion to final expulsion.

Conde had translated parts of it for his *Historia de la denominación de los árabes en España*. However, Conde was inadequate and confused. The approach of

³⁰⁴ GAYANGOS, 1840, vol 1, p.x

³⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.xv

Gayangos was more systematic. Gayangos consulted many other Arabic manuscripts as bibliographic evidence: in the Bodleian, the Phillipps collection and the British Museum.

Gayangos was responsible for making the whole approach to al-Andalus altogether more solid and scholarly than had been the case before. It has been recently acknowledged that Gayangos “set in motion the drive for hard fact, for historical authenticity.”³⁰⁶ Unpublished letters further confirm Gayangos’ drive for this ‘hard fact’: In addition, he had more ambitions about editing a series of Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, which would also illustrate the history of al-Andalus. As discussed in Chapter One (pp.49-50), these projects came to nothing due to lack of money and perhaps interest from Spain.

Gayangos’ approach to the al-Makkari manuscript was without doubt a huge step forward from the quixotic attitude of Conde. Like Ranke, Gayangos believed that it was possible to reconstruct the past as it actually was and thereby to avoid injecting the history of former times with the spirit of the present. In Gayangos’ *Mohammedan Dynasties* the Arabic source itself is the main text; whilst Gayangos’ scholarship is displayed in the body of historical and biographical notes and appendices, which guide the reader through the primary text. The notes reveal how much research Gayangos undertook in the libraries in Paris, Madrid and Britain. The study of other Arabic manuscripts enabled him to enlighten the reader on the authors quoted by al-Makkari, or to add information to al-Makkari’s text.

³⁰⁶ BRETT, 2002, p.xii

Yet, one controversial aspect of Gayangos' methodology is that he did not translate the manuscripts in full, but omitted certain parts. The *Mohammedan Dynasties* is a selective translation of the manuscript which was itself a compilation of separate sources. Given the nature of the al-Makkari manuscript, one can easily understand why Gayangos adopted such a selective approach. The reading and understanding of the manuscript was difficult, because there is a tendency in the manuscript to relate an event quoting one historian, and relating it again two or three times over from other historical sources. Thus the same event can be described several times. Al-Makkari also includes poems and extracts from rhetorical works that are not connected with the subject and therefore interrupt the main text. The given historical information is often diffuse, too much attention is paid to relatively unimportant events, and no explanatory remarks are given to facilitate the reading.³⁰⁷

Gayangos therefore adopted a creative approach to the translation. He omitted biographical sections and poetic passages, which did not contain any historical facts of importance. He sometimes summarised certain sections in a few notes, such as the part dealing with notable emigrants from al-Andalus to the Orient, and the section consisting of poetic fragments revealing the Andalusian character. In short, Gayangos focused on the historical part of the manuscript. Much more controversial, however, is that he changed the order of the various books and divided the subjects into chapters to make the narration more legible and interesting. Whilst the work became readable and very accessible to the non-Arabist, the serious Arabist scholars had to handle the book with care, since it could not be used as a parallel text. This was aggravated by the fact that Gayangos did not indicate *where* he had omitted and

³⁰⁷ GAYANGOS, 1840-43, preface, pp.xv

changed a part of the text. Yet, this methodology was certainly justified in Gayangos' mind and was in keeping with the nineteenth-century attitude to primary sources. Gayangos, aware of the paucity of material in the field, and keen on filling this niche, wished to vindicate the importance of Moorish Spain not only to the specialist, but to the general reader.

The twentieth-century historian J.T. Monroe even went so far as to suggest that Gayangos was not so much driven by pure scholarly ambition, but rather by his wish to show that the Moors in Spain were a central part of Iberia. Michael Brett, author of the introduction to the new edition of the *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, further suggests that Gayangos wrote from the point of view of a Spaniard, interested in Spain only: "the focus of his work was very specifically upon Muslim Spain in the context of Spanish history."³⁰⁸ In other words, Gayangos became an important apologist for the Spanish Muslims. This certainly explains Gayangos' approach to the manuscript, which judged by current standards, seems idiosyncratic. However, Brett argues that Monroe's point "does less than justice to his [Gayangos'] ambition and achievement."³⁰⁹ Despite all that has been said, it is clear however that Gayangos' work was a great step forward. What then was the perspective of Gayangos' contemporaries? Did they recognise its importance? Did the book have an impact on British-American scholarship on Spain?

The importance of the al-Makkari manuscript was widely understood by the contemporary Orientalists. It was then known as a historical and literary encyclopaedia

³⁰⁸ BRETT, 2002, p. xiii

³⁰⁹ *Idem*

of Arab Spain. Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883), professor of Arabic at the University of Leyden, encouraged Gayangos, stating that the *al-Makkari* was the “the most complete and exact history of Arab Spain, which was ever written, and what is more, it will remain so for a considerable deal of time.”³¹⁰ The first volume of *Mohammedan Dynasties* (1840) proved a notable success: 800 copies sold within six months.³¹¹ The Royal Asiatic Society elected Gayangos a member.³¹² In a letter to the President of *Real Academia de la Historia*, Gayangos pointed out, not without pride, that this appointment was rarely given to a foreign scholar:

*Es pues el caso que la sociedad Asiatica de Inglaterra é Irlanda [...] ha quedado tan satisfecha del desempeño de la primera parte de mi ardua empresa, que reunidos los socios en junta extraordinaria, se acordó unanimesmente nombrarme individuo de número (favor que muy rara vez se ha concedido a extranjeros).*³¹³

The institution encouraged Gayangos to prepare a second volume and agreed to take care of the costs for printing and to remunerate him. Gayangos reported to the *Real Academia de la Historia*:

*...y excitar mi celo hacia otras publicaciones del mismo género, quedando a su cargo los gastos de impresión así como el fijar la correspondiente remuneración de mi trabajo.*³¹⁴

The first volume was reviewed in a long article in the *Athenaeum* in December 1840, by William Desborough Cooley (18?-1883), a geographer specialising in Africa in the history and geography of the Sudan.³¹⁵ Cooley’s work included analyses of Arabic sources to create a narrative remarkably free of prevailing racial and cultural

³¹⁰ Dozy to Gayangos, Leyden, September 1841, RAH, Papers of Gayangos, Folder 2, n° 3

³¹¹ Gayangos to Castellanos, 25 November 1841, DIAZ, 1948, p.10

³¹² During the nineteenth century the Royal Asiatic Society was the main centre in Britain for scholarly work on Asia and had many distinguished Fellows

³¹³ Gayangos to Arnao, [1841], ALVAREZ MILLAN, 2003, p.28

³¹⁴ *Idem*

³¹⁵ See GROFF, D., “The Negroland Revisited. Discovery and Invention of the Sudanese Middle Ages”, *Journal of World History*, September 2003, vol. 14, no.3 (published online: www.historycooperative.org/journals/)

prejudices; a narrative furthermore which had focused on black Africans rather than the actions of outside invaders. As such Cooley was an appropriate person to review Gayangos' work. He praised the choice of the al-Makkari manuscript and stated that the work gave the reader "a profounder insight into the nature of European civilization" than had previously been possible. Following the tradition, which had been established by William Robertson of praising the institutions of Arabic Spain, Cooley pointed out that the reader could learn from Gayangos' work about the "social advantages of general equality" with Mohammedan Spain. He praised the fact that education was accessible to all, and democratic, universal, and exempt "from the twofold curse of rank and fashion."

They [literature and science] belonged to the people, all had access to them and enjoyed them... They universally respected wisdom and useful talents, and nothing else: they bowed to none but the able and well informed.³¹⁶

Cooley pointed out that the Islamic civilisation of al-Andalus was clearly superior to the European culture in the Middle Ages. He deplored how northern Europe had never enjoyed such a democratic system of education, and complained that this continued to be the case in the present time.

In Europe, the fertilizing waters of knowledge were never led down to the common people, and indeed this niggard system is not yet wholly done away with. [...] with us, even at the present day, the man of profound and cultivated mind stands in awe of the ill-instructed rabble.³¹⁷

Cooley stated that Gayangos was "of all men living, the best qualified for the task" of illustrating the history of Moorish Spain. He stressed that Gayangos was not a mere translator, but a "learned author" who had assembled in his notes and appendix a new body of critical, biographical and historical information. Unlike later

³¹⁶ COOLEY, "The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain." *Athenaeum*, no 686, 19 December 1840, pp. 1003-4

³¹⁷ *Idem*.

commentators Cooley did not have a problem with Gayangos' rearrangement of the manuscript, stating that the manuscript had not been 'disparaged'. He further praised Gayangos' use of language, which had "grace and propriety, a vivacity and copiousness of expression (...) which few Englishmen can attain." The author concluded that the readers of Gayangos' work had in it a "valuable accession to the stories of European history, and not merely a translation, but also such an erudite commentary, with so full a stream of Arabic learning," and anticipated that it was to become a "standard work in our literature."³¹⁸

Gayangos' work was well received by a non-specialist readership, though that having been acknowledged, Gayangos did receive criticism by members of the scholarly community on Spain for his selective approach towards the translation. Reinhart Dozy, Gayangos' colleague and correspondent, who had first praised Gayangos' project of translating the al-Makkari manuscript, subsequently attacked and dismissed Gayangos for minor inaccuracies, his selective approach and for not having provided a critical history.³¹⁹ Stanley Lane-Poole, the Orientalist and numismatist, was more positive, stating in the preface of his *Moors in Spain* (1887) that Dozy's comments were "needlessly acrimonious criticism." From a specialist point of view, Lane-Poole judged the work to be a useful introduction to those who could not read Arabic. He recognised its main defect as Gayangos' selective approach to the manuscript, but thought that this was better than nothing. Gayangos' work therefore deserved "the gratitude of all students who would rather have half a loaf than no bread, and are glad to be able to read an Arabic writer, even imperfectly,

³¹⁸ *Idem.*

³¹⁹ DOZY, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 1861, preface. This was the first modern history of al-Andalus to be written from Arabic sources.

in a European language.”³²⁰ Others too thought it was the first qualitative introduction to al-Andalus for the non-Arabist scholar.³²¹ For example, the scientist Charles G. Daubeny, professor of Botany and Chemistry at Oxford, together with Captain Widdrington, a major English writer on Spain, “made the tour of Spain” in 1843 with Gayangos’ book in his hand.³²² The non-Arabist historians who certainly valued Gayangos included: from Prescott, Stirling-Maxwell to the witty Hispanophile Richard Ford, author of the first complete and comprehensive guide book to Spain (1845). Prescott found Gayangos’ book most revealing as to Moorish Spain and also to its historiography:

Your book must certainly supersede all that has gone before it on this topic, the learned but unsatisfactory - I did not know how unsatisfactory – labours of Conde, Masdeu, Casiri, Cardonne etc. You have furnished a clear picture of the Asiatic portion of the Peninsula history without which the European cannot be rightly interpreted or understood.³²³

Not only was Gayangos’ *Mohammedan Dynasties* well received by non-Arabist historians, but it also had an impact on their own subsequent writings on Spain. Gayangos provided access to primary historical factual material, which they would not have been able to read in the original version.³²⁴

Gayangos’ work has aged very well. Whilst the first critical history of Moorish Spain (Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d’Espagne*, 1861) has long been superseded by more modern publications, Gayangos’ creative translation of the al-

³²⁰ LANE-POOLE, *The Moors in Spain*, [1887], 1983, p.x

³²¹ MOHL, *Ving-sept ans d’Histoire des Etudes orientales [1840-67]*, Paris, 1879.

³²² Ford to Gayangos, 22 Jan 1844, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.33

³²³ Prescott to Gayangos, 1 Feb 1841, TICKNOR, *Life of Prescott*, 1864, p.183

³²⁴ By the last quarter of the century “popular” histories of Spain were in constant demand (US). E.g. Gayangos influenced the American writer, Henry Coppée, known for his two-volume *History of the Conquest of Spain by the Arab Moors*, 1881. Coppée, soldier, educator, and miscellaneous writer, was shrewd enough to rely on Gayangos’ *Mohammedan Dynasties*. WILLIAMS, *The Spanish Background of American Literature*, 1955, vol. 1, p. 151

Makkari manuscript – the most important Arabic source on al-Andalus - has retained value. It was re-edited in 2002 by the Royal Asiatic Society. Michael Brett, in his introduction to the edition, wrote:

It has to be said at the outset that even in abridgement and translation, this is a delightful work. The history it recounts, buttressed with De Gayangos' notes, is conveyed in an anthology of extracts from the works of Andalusian writers ... coupled with anecdotes and information of all kinds supplied by al-Makkari himself.... A landmark.³²⁵

The al-Makkari manuscript is still considered as indispensable. Roger Collins, author of *The Arab Conquest of Spain* (1989), judged it extremely valuable for the “substantial portions of the work of earlier and otherwise lost historical writings.”³²⁶ Collins further pointed out that, apart from the al-Makkari, “there is little other evidence available for the period of the Arab Conquest.”³²⁷ Rarely does any Orientalist historian today consult the original manuscript of the al-Makkari, which is voluminous and therefore difficult to work on. Gayangos' *Mohammedan Dynasties* remains the most user-friendly version of the original manuscript, hence its recent re-edition. Michael Brett, in the introduction of this new edition, invites the reader to consider Gayangos again:

“It is time to return, beyond the layers of interpretation which have accumulated from the time of Dozy onwards, to Gayangos, to pick up on his method, to appreciate the nature of his sources, the difficulties of understanding what they have to say. It is time to return with the help of Gayangos to al-Makkari himself, to see the matter from his point of view, and through him from the point of view of Muslim Spain itself.”³²⁸

³²⁵ BRETT, 2002, p.x

³²⁶ COLLINS, *The Arab conquest of Spain*, 1989, p.25

³²⁷ *Idem.*

³²⁸ BRETT, 2002, p.xiv

The only well known article published in Britain is Gayangos' pioneering "Language and Literature of the Moriscos" in the *British and Foreign Review*.³²⁹ Here Gayangos is the first to make the British reader aware of the nature and existence of *aljamiada* literature; that is to say, literature of the Moriscos, written in Spanish with Arabic letters. Antonio Conde was the first who had discovered the phenomenon of *aljamiado*, but, just as with Moorish history, it was Gayangos who presented the first systematic study of *aljamiado* literature, including the historical context of the writers, use of grammar, phonetics, and peculiarities of the vocabulary. Gayangos analysed two manuscripts, the *Poema de Yusuf*, and the poem of Mohamed Rabadan, a manuscript in the British Museum. He edited extracts of both. The article was immediately perceived as important.³³⁰ Chapter Six will demonstrate how influential it was on Ticknor and other subsequent writers. The seminal article led Gayangos to study and collect *aljamiado* literature further, leading to later works, such as "Leyes de Moros" (1853) published in Spain.³³¹

We shall now turn to less known writings by Gayangos: his contributions on Moorish Spain published in two British magazines of different repute. These articles, hitherto neglected, are not to be dismissed as insignificant by-products of his work on the *al-Makkari*. Gayangos lived from his pen, and although it cannot be established how much he was paid, there can be no doubt that money drove him to accept commissions from British magazines. However, the articles were also an

³²⁹ "Language and Literature of the Moriscos", *British and Foreign Review*, 1839, Vol. XIII, pp.63-95

³³⁰ "Aquí ha causado mucha sensación por ser asunto enteramente nuevo... se han tirado por separado 100 ejemplares.", ed. DÍAZ, 1957, p.8)

³³¹ "Leyes de moros", *Memorial Histórico Español*, t. V, ppp. 1-149. On Gayangos' collection: TERÉS SABADA, *Los manuscritos árabes de la Real Academia de la Historia: La colección Gayangos*, Madrid, 1975

important outlet to advocate his view that studies on Islamic Spain needed to move away from the romantic and amateurish approach; a real understanding of Moorish Spain required acquaintance with primary Arabic sources. Such a call for a more scholarly approach was something of an article of faith. His articles also confirm that he was considered an authority, qualified to review the most recent literature on the subject. They therefore deserve to be studied both from the biographical and historiographic perspective. They reveal as much about Gayangos as about the state of British Hispanism.

Between 1838 and 1841, Gayangos contributed ten to the *Athenaeum*. This weekly periodical included articles ranging widely over literature, history, fine arts, music, theatre, politics and popular science, including medicine, and what would now be termed the environmental and social sciences. By the late 1830s, the *Athenaeum*'s reputation and circulation had grown considerably to become one of the most influential periodicals of the Victorian period.³³² The most outstanding scholars of the time became occasional or frequent contributors.³³³ Gayangos thus joined the ranks of scholars of repute, from Ouseley of the Royal Asiatic Society, Thomas Wright, cataloguer of the Oriental manuscripts at the British Museum to the renowned bibliophile Halliwell-Phillipps and many others.

Three of Gayangos' reviews touched on the culture of Muslim Spain. In October 1840, appeared his reviews of *Seville and its Vicinity*, a topographical account with notice of Moorish Seville. The author was Frank Hall Standish.³³⁴

³³² MARCHAND, *The Athenaeum. A mirror of Victorian culture*, 1941, p.ix.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p.59

³³⁴ GAYANGOS, "Seville and its Vicinity. By Frank Hall Standish." *Athenaeum*, 17 October 1840, 677, pp.814-815

Gayangos was highly critical. Standish contributed nothing new, since he had relied on the works of sixteenth-century Christian authors, whose accounts were known to be unreliable because they had concocted certain events for the purpose of glorifying Christian aspects of the history of the city. Furthermore, translations from Arabic were full of errors, as they had relied on the faulty works of some Morisco author who either produced errors in ignorance or because they never intended their work to be accurate. In an authoritative tone, Gayangos dismissed the book as a failure, a "slough of errors" and a "threat" to all those "to whom Mr. Standish may serve as Cicerone." Gayangos corrected Standish's main errors and outlined a brief history of the construction of the most important monuments of Moorish Seville. Standish's main fault was his ignorance of Arabic sources; indispensable to anyone who wished to "describe with accuracy their numerous architectural remains scattered over the Peninsula."³³⁵ Gayangos' bold criticism demonstrates his own strength, independence and integrity. Exposing the literary incompetence of a man who would present his important collection of Spanish pictures to the French nation, and who corresponded with the British Prime Minister, was an act of boldness for a young man of letters, a foreigner who had just started to build a reputation for himself in London.

Gayangos applied a yet more severe tone to his review of a narrative account of Muslim Spain, entitled "*The Arabs in Spain*" published anonymously by E. Churton (1840).³³⁶ Gayangos reproached the author for having relied too heavily on Conde's *History of Mohammdan Dynasties* (1824), and for being unaware that

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.814

³³⁶ GAYANGOS, "The Arabs in Spain." *Athenaeum*, 673, 19 September 1840, pp.723-725

Conde's work was confused, due to a lack of system and the unconnected nature of the primary material. Gayangos regarded Churton's *Arabs in Spain* as one with Conde's: "another mother of the miserable compilations" published on Moorish Spain, and "one of the crudest and worst." Over two whole pages, Gayangos revealed a series of errors, some minor and many grave ones,³³⁷ which led him to conclude there was "hardly an historical event recorded in his volume, which is not in some way open to objections," and that the account swarmed "with blunders which no moderately read schoolboy would fall into." The author confounded facts which were "known to every reader of general history." Gayangos ended his long list of the author's errors with the words: "After this, we may be excused from all further comment."³³⁸

Evidently Gayangos aimed to establish a more accurate view of Moorish Spain, warning that if English authors blindly continued to "follow the [early] Spanish writers of local history we shall never arrive at truth."³³⁹ A common thread in reviews by Gayangos was the dangers of approaching known sources on Moorish Spain without a critical objectivity.

Other articles demonstrate how Gayangos was not regarded as a specialist on Moorish Spain only. In 1838 and 1840, appeared his reviews of two translations of the *Tales of the Thousand and One Nights*, the classic of Arabic literature. Scholars had only started to translate the tales from the original Arabic into English in 1837: Gayangos first reviewed the translation by Henry Torrens (1806-1852), based on a

³³⁷ He objected to the title of the work, pointing out that it was inaccurate to describe the Spanish Moors as 'Arabs'. Furthermore, the author had misquoted distinguished Orientalists in his introduction, and was ignorant about the life of Mohammed. *Ibid.*, pp.723-4

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.725

³³⁹ GAYANGOS, "Seville and its Vicinity." *Athenaeum*, 17 October 1840, no 677, p.815

manuscript from Calcutta. This volume (1838) comprised only fifty tales, but although it represented a small fraction, Gayangos praised them as “worthy of attention as being made from the original Arabic, and from a MS. said to contain many tales entirely new to European readers. The publication [...] of the original text afforded us much satisfaction.”³⁴⁰ Whilst Gayangos did not spend much time on Torrens’ short volume, he commented more on the translation of the Boulac manuscript by Edward William Lane (1838-40), which contained about one third of the entire *Arabian Nights*, and thus represented a great step forward. Lane had laid the foundations of his scholarship through extensive travels in Egypt, and residence in Cairo and Luxor. By the 1840s, Lane already enjoyed a solid reputation among his contemporaries, mostly for his *Modern Egypt* (1836), considered as one of the best descriptions of Arabian life. Lane’s two-volume translation of *Arabian Nights* was illustrated with notes and engravings, designed to make the book a sort of encyclopaedia of Eastern manners. Gayangos admired it for the vigorous and simple style, “well suited to the subject and to the shifting and variable demands of the original.” Above all, he praised Lane’s erudition displayed in his notes regarding the manners and customs of the East.

Gayangos balanced praise with criticism however. He was confident enough to challenge Lane’s view on the authorship and the date of these tales; suggesting that the tales were based on, or derived from the Persian work called *Hazar Afsanah* (One Thousand Legends). This Lane came to accept:

³⁴⁰ GAYANGOS, “The Book of the Thousand and One Nights: from the Arabic of the Egyptian MS.”, *Athenaeum*, 622, 28 September 1839, p.741

In 1838, Gayangos had also reviewed Lane’s first volume, *Athenaeum*, no. 572, 13 October 1838

Mr. Lane himself has since examined the passage, and not only admits it to be authentic, but thinks it probable that 'the general plan of the Arabian Thousand and One Nights is borrowed from the Persian work.'³⁴¹

Gayangos was correct, and scholars still believe that the *Thousand and One Nights* originated from that Persian work. Gayangos also corrected Lane in dating. He deduced from the al-Makkari that a collection entitled 'The One Thousand and One Nights' existed at Cairo in the thirteenth century (or even earlier), and therefore at least three centuries before the date fixed by Lane. Gayangos' hunch about the earlier date was a real contribution to what remains an on-going debate: Both date and place of compilation are still matters of dispute, but many agree on the thirteenth century as the date of arrangement at least. Despite his criticisms Gayangos however respected Lane's scholarship. His generally very positive review helped to set the book up for a general readership. Lane became the standard version, and was republished in 1909-1914.

Work on Lane reveals a new facet of Gayangos, hitherto not recognised by those who have commented on his life and work: Gayangos *was* interested in subjects beyond Spain. Although he did not produce any major work in the wider field of Orientalism, he commented authoritatively on Orientalist themes outwith Spain. Gayangos' collection of antiquities which included objects of different ages and cultures from the Middle East underpin this assumption. His authoritative reviews of books with Arabic subjects, published in a well-known magazine, made him arbiter of the British understanding of the Arab world, and helped him to establish an even wider reputation in Britain.

³⁴¹ GAYANGOS, in *Athenaeum*, n° 622, 28 September 1839, p.741

Gayangos was extremely versatile; able to write for the *Athenaeum* but also for a less educated clientage, the readership of the *Penny Cyclopaedia* and the *Biographical Dictionary*, both published by the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* established by Lord Brougham, and supported by Whig politicians and intellectuals.³⁴² It declared its main aim to impart “useful information to all classes of community, particularly to such as are unable to avail themselves of experienced teachers, or may prefer learning by themselves”³⁴³ The *Penny Cyclopaedia* and the *Biographical Dictionary* were both part of the Society’s programme for liberal reform, and mass education.³⁴⁴ The *Cyclopaedia* included articles on very different subjects: history, literature and science, organised in alphabetical order. Whatever the subject, they were not intended to enlighten the scholar, but elevate the minds of the working class. Although clearly the *Cyclopaedia* was not a scholarly magazine, many contributors were intellectuals and scientists of repute, who believed in educating the working class. Writing for this *Cyclopaedia*, Gayangos joined 180 other contributors, such as Wiseman (later Cardinal), who wrote on religious matters, and Van Bohlen (professor of Oriental literature at the University of Königsberg). Gayangos’ assigned field was “Spanish geography and topography and Arabic literature.” Whilst the articles (generally unsigned) cannot be attributed easily, external evidence suggests the following by Gayangos: “Moors”, “Ramadan”, “Ramiro”, “Razi”, “Rebolledo”, “Reland” and “Renaudot” and “Spain”. In a later

³⁴² such as Lord Brougham (1778-1868), founder of the Society (1826) and the *Edinburgh Review* (1802).

³⁴³ *Prospectus*, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London, 1829.

The society published *Library of Useful Knowledge*, *British Almanac*, *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, *Farmer’s series*, *Maps*, *Working Man’s Companion*, *Quarterly Journal of Education*, *Penny Magazine*, *Penny Cyclopaedia*, *Gallery of Portraits*, *Library for the Young*, *Biographical Dictionary*.

³⁴⁴ GROBEL, Monica, *The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, unpublished PhD, UCL, 1932.

volume of the *Penny Cyclopaedia* covering the letter “S”, Gayangos wrote an extensive article on Spain at large.³⁴⁵ Although the article does not include “Moorish Spain” and the reader is referred, where appropriate, to the article “Moors, Vol. XV”, Gayangos continued to make the reader aware of the influence of Arabic language and literature.

To Gayangos, the *Penny Cyclopaedia* was another organ that allowed him to reinstate the importance of Moorish Spain and to counteract romance and inaccuracy. In his long article “Moors”, he gave the reader a detailed survey of the Moorish period of Spain, including its history, the Moorish government and institutions, military force, agriculture, trade, population, science and literature.³⁴⁶ He divided its history into four periods, thus facilitating the understanding of the whole. He drew particular attention to the Umayyad reign and to the promotion of science and literature as well as education, and to the magnificence and splendour “unparalleled even in the gorgeous capitals of the East” under that dynasty. Throughout the article, Gayangos made the reader aware of the significance of the Arabs, not just to Spain, but to the whole of Europe:

It is now universally acknowledged in Europe that the Arabs succeeded to the sciences of the Greeks, that at a time when ignorance prevailed through every part of the Roman empire, literature and philosophy found an asylum amongst them, and that ... Europe became indebted to her Mohammedan invaders for the first lessons of science and learning.... [To] the Western Arabs especially and to their settlement in a corner of our continent, we owe the preservation of most of the sciences cultivated by the Greeks.

Gayangos’ account is partly an enumeration of achievements and inventions by the Moors in Spain, mostly in physics and maths, botany, medicine, chemistry,

³⁴⁵ GAYANGOS, “Spain”, *Penny Cyclopaedia*, Vol XXII, pp. 282-305. FORD, *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, 1845, p. 96

³⁴⁶ GAYANGOS, “Moors”, *Penny Cyclopaedia*, Vol XV, pp.384-390, 959 and 960. See FORD, 1845, p. 360: “his [Gayangos’] able article on the Moors in the *Penny Cyclopaedia*”

agriculture, horticulture, mechanical arts and manufactures: from the invention of the astrolabe and irrigation systems, to the improvement of gunpowder.

The articles conform to the encyclopaedic format. Information is precise, factual and lacks any witty or amusing comments, which are often found in the travel accounts on Spain. He drew attention to Spain's specific merits and weaknesses rather than indulge in escapist romanticism. For example, he deplored the state of education in Spain:

The lower classes have little or no instruction [...], the universities [...] are in a most deplorable condition, being attended only by students destined for the church or those who follow the profession of law and medicine [...] The children of nobility and rich people are educated in France and other parts of the Continent. There are in the capital various academies and literary societies, but their labours of late have been unimportant.³⁴⁷

Writing on "revenue and trade", Gayangos described Spain's resources but also her debts and problems. In his eyes, the lack of "speedy means of communication" was an obstacle to prosperity. Regarding "government and constitution", Gayangos blamed Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V and their Habsburg and Bourbon successors for the "ruin of the Cortes" and the "blow at Spanish liberty"; an attitude shared by many Spanish liberals. In a few paragraphs he described the more recent development from the Peninsular War to the new constitution established in 1837. Under the heading "history", he gave the reader a detailed insight into the Peninsular War and subsequent developments; perhaps feeling that this was a subject that was particularly relevant to the British readership. He even provided an extensive bibliography on the Peninsular War, Spanish history generally, including mostly books in Spanish, and only one in English:

³⁴⁷ GAYANGOS, "Spain", vol. XXII, p. 292

Of those written in this country, the best is that by Dr. Dunham, in Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopaedia',³⁴⁸

Gayangos also provided a revisionist view of Spanish drama and poetry up to his own day. The only aspect of Spain upon which Gayangos did not comment was "art".

These articles were well received. Ford thought that "Moors" was "admirable",³⁴⁹ and recommended "Spain" to the readership of *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*: "The article on Spain in the *Penny Cyclopaedia* by our learned friend Don Pascual de Gayangos is excellent."³⁵⁰

Gayangos wrote numerous biographies of Christian and Arabic historical figures in Spain for the *Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, to which 46 writers contributed. The articles are shorter, but similar in style. The correspondence between Gayangos and the editors of the *Penny Cyclopaedia* and the *Biographical Dictionary*, the existence of which has not been noticed by previous writers, reveals that Gayangos often served as an adviser to the editor on Orientalist subjects. For example, as to the choice of historical figures beginning with "A", Gayangos judged that certain personages were not worth mentioning:

Accien is a corruption of Bahi Syen grandson of Alp-Arselan. The historians of the Crusades speak of him under the above name, but he is an obscure person and ought not to be included in the list.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ DUNHAM, *History of Spain and Portugal*, 5 vols, 1832-3. This work occupied vols 20-24 of Lardner's *The Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, 1830-49. It was translated into Spanish by Antonio Alcalá de Galiano (7 vols, Madrid, 1844-6)

³⁴⁹ Ford to Gayangos, Nov. 1841, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p. 12

³⁵⁰ FORD, *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, 1845, p. 96

³⁵¹ The first one was 'Abbád' which was followed by more. Gayangos to Long, 24 October 1841, Papers of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, G (SDUK-G, hereafter), UCL: "I

The editor followed his advice, as well as corrections to the orthography of certain names. Gayangos was commissioned to produce more than eleven articles on subjects beginning with "A". This put him under pressure and by January 1842 the editors were "extremely anxious to get all in type to the end of A." Gayangos apologised for the delay:

My time has been very much taken up of late owing to my having changed the residence as you may perceive. I enclose you three articles and in two or three days will send you eight or ten more which are already half written. This will greatly diminish the number of those which I have to write in letter A so that I may confidently assert that by the middle of next month the whole of the Abdu-r-rahmans will be in print.³⁵²

Although the relationship between Gayangos and his editors was often tense because of the deadlines which Gayangos was unable to meet, the editors continued to depend on him as an authoritative consultant. Gayangos frequently corrected the spelling of the editor's list of Arabic names and made useful suggestions as to how certain names and events should be explained to the reader. By November 1842,³⁵³ Gayangos had been asked to "lead the way" by way of imposing a uniform system of orthography to be used by all the contributors on Orientalist subjects. Gayangos replied:

I am afraid that you will find it more difficult than you anticipated to reconcile our system of oriental geography and I only wish that, instead of being called upon to lead the way I had merely followed on the track of others. I find that Dr. Sprenger writes Al-hessas which I have [as] Al-Assas; which is best I will not take upon myself to decide, but this I know that they are the same name and ought to have been written alike. – However as the Semitic languages are written without vowels and these must be supplied by the reader, we may perhaps be excused, if we are now and then guilty of a little contradiction.

enclose Abbád the first article on my list. Tomorrow you will receive three more ... , I ... send you shortly several more."

³⁵² Gayangos to Long, 21 January 1842, SDUK-G, UCL

³⁵³ Gayangos to Long, 23 November 1842, *Idem*.

Gayangos pointed out that proper names should be written in the same way throughout the different articles in the magazine.

In 1842, Gayangos wrote articles on Turkey, demonstrating he was not merely identified with Moorish Spain, but the Mediterranean basin at large. He was reluctant, but agreed to do “anything in the way of Turkish articles until you procure a more fitting writer to furnish them.”³⁵⁴ Thus Gayangos’ contribution to the *Penny Cyclopedia* and the *Biographical Dictionary* demonstrates his capacity to adapt to a non-academic readership, and also, his academic versatility.

In 1840 Gayangos was asked to make a contribution to the work of the Welsh artist and architect Owen Jones (1808-74), who would be of vital importance to the development of design and ornament in the Victorian era. Unfortunately nothing has come to light about how the two men met. Jones had developed a passion for geometrical forms and symbolism in ornamentation on his travels, which he undertook with his friend, the architect Jules Goury (1803-34). Together they had traversed the Mediterranean basin, through Egypt, Greece and Turkey in 1833 and to Granada in 1834. They were fascinated by the Alhambra and its polychromic designs on tiles, in stucco and carved wood. They carefully studied the decoration of the palace and made countless, very remarkable drawings, including copies of the Arabic inscriptions. Sadly, Goury died of cholera in Granada in 1834. Jones returned to England and continued his investigations alone. In 1837, Jones was back in Spain copying more designs in the Alhambra, and he even tried to retrieve evidence of the original colour by taking scrapings beneath the overpaint. Upon return, he wished to

³⁵⁴ Gayangos to Long, 21 January 1842, *ibid.*

publish his illustrative work together with a text on the history of Moorish Granada and a translation of the Arabic inscriptions. For this, he turned to Gayangos. It is not known how the relationship between Jones and Gayangos started, but it is likely that Jones had first heard of Gayangos through Penrose Mark, when Jones was in Spain. Whatever the truth about who met whom, a positive review of Gayangos' first volume of the *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* in the *Athenaeum*, which, it may be supposed, Jones might have read, certainly qualified Gayangos in the eyes of Jones as obvious choice for the task of writing a history of the Moors of Granada. Gayangos seemed pleased with the commission. In a letter to a Spanish friend, he stated that Owen Jones' book on the Alhambra was one of the most magnificent works of the time and that he had received in total 10,000 *reales* for his contribution.³⁵⁵ This was a significant amount, at least by Spanish standards, where a university professor was paid 20,000 *reales* per year.³⁵⁶

The result of this collaboration was the most sumptuous book on the Alhambra published in nineteenth-century Europe. Nothing before had paid such close attention in a single building to Islamic decoration of this abundance and complexity. Some works on Moorish design in Spain had been published in France, but Jones' work superseded these by the more sumptuous and precise character of his book. The title included the names of Jones, Goury and Gayangos: *Plans, Elevation, sections and details of the Alhambra. From drawings taken on the spot in 1834 by*

³⁵⁵ Gayangos to Castellanos, 25 Nov. 1841, DIAZ, 1848, p. 12: *...las láminas ... y el todo de la obra, será uno de los monumentos tipográficos más magníficos de este siglo. Un inglés, ... es el autor de ella y yo le he ayudado para su composición traduciéndole todas las inscripciones y escribiendo una historia de Granada desde la conquista en 712 hasta su toma por los Reyes Católicos en 1492, trabajo por el cual he recibido 10.000 reales"*

³⁵⁶ 20,000 reales was Gayangos' annual starting salary as "Catedrático de Arabe de la Universidad de Madrid." See, Gayangos' *hojas de servicios*, AGA, Expediente 626-30. Caja AGA. 31-15827

the late Mr. Jules Goury, and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones, Archt. With a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions and a historical notice of the Kings of Granada from the conquest of that city by the Arabs, to the expulsion of the Moors, by Mr. Pascual de Gayangos.

The importance of the book is suggested by a review in the *Athenaeum*, which remarks that “rarely, if ever” had there appeared “a more magnificent work for the benefit of the architect and the decorator.”³⁵⁷ The approach to Moorish design set a new standard of systematic and scientific delineation, and therefore differed from the romantic interpretations of other artists, such as David Roberts or John Frederick Lewis. Jones’ investigations of the Moorish use of colour and forms led him to his later architectural work at the Crystal Palace (1850) and Kensington Palace (1843).³⁵⁸ Later, Jones’ integrated many of his plates of Alhambraic decoration in his book *Grammar of Ornament* (1856); arguably the most influential compendium of design plates ever to have been published in Britain. It was an illustrated analysis of different ornamental styles from all over the world, ranging from antiquity to modern times. Owen Jones’ endeavours transformed the decorative arts in Great Britain, diffusing design motifs for artists, craftsmen and designers alike, from William Morris to the commercial designers of Liberty’s. His *Grammar of Ornament* was republished recently and remains a fundamental sourcebook to anyone interested in design.

Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra was essential in the diffusion of accurate knowledge of Moorish design, something which predictably appealed to Gayangos. The importance of the illustrations has been recognised by

³⁵⁷ *Athenaeum*, 4 August 1838, p. 556.

³⁵⁸ SWEETMAN, *Oriental Obsession*, 1986, pp. 127-128

many: Sweetman describes the illustrations as “new departures” as objective records. However, Sweetman has completely overlooked the textual contribution by Gayangos, thus implying that the article in Jones’ *Alhambra*, which was on the history of the Moors in Granada, was unimportant. However, text balancing scholarly ambition with the taste of the general public for a florid prose style, provided context. The text was based on a bibliography, which not only included earlier writings on the Moorish period, but also primary Arabic sources.³⁵⁹ For his translation of inscriptions, Gayangos was not merely reliant on Jones’ transcriptions: he also consulted the manuscript of the Morisco, Alonso del Castillo (1556), and another kept in the *Bibliothèque Royale* in Paris by Ahmed el Magrebi (a nephew of the historian al-Makkari). This last contained more than thirty verses inscribed on the Alhambra. Collaboration between Jones and Gayangos was of great importance in giving a more accurate impression of the Alhambra: its architecture, decoration and history.

Meanwhile, Gayangos was also developing a growing interest in Christian Spain. Hence his review of Prescott’s *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837).³⁶⁰ That review led to the prestigious *Athenaeum* work and those more popular *Penny Cyclopaedia* commissions. Most of the articles in the *Athenaeum* are reviews of books published in Spain and in Britain. His reviews are interesting since the choice of subject matter suggest a connection to Holland House. In February 1840, there was a review of an

³⁵⁹ Conde, *Historia de los musulmanes*; Pedreza, *Las Antigüedades y Excelencias de Granada*, Echevarria, *Paseos por Granada*; Mariana, *Historia general de España*, Martinez De La Rosa, *Doña Isabel de Solís*, and also, Irving’s *Conquest of Granada*, which had first opened up Moorish Granada to the English-speaking public. Arabic sources: Ibn Hayyan, *Historia de la España musulmana*; Ibn Al - Jatib, *Historia de Granada*; Ibn Sahib Al-Sala, *Historia de los Almohades*

³⁶⁰ GAYANGOS, "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella", *Edinburgh Review*, January 1839, p. 404

edition of the letters of Alexander Stanhope,³⁶¹ British Minister at Madrid (1690-99), and founder of a famous Whig dynasty. The article criticised the monarchical regime of Spain and attributed to it the decline of a whole empire, mirrored the views of the Holland circle. It is therefore tempting to see Gayangos here as an apologist, writing for Lord Holland.

Another article connecting Gayangos to Holland House was his review of *Acts of the Cortes of Castile*, published by the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid.³⁶² Gayangos explained that this publication was particularly relevant to the current state of Spain and to those trying to rebuild civil liberties. Gayangos understood that the subject matter was of political significance: He implied that the medieval Cortes provided Spain with early models of institutions whose freedom “was *perhaps* greater than that of any other state in Europe.”³⁶³ The *Acts of the Cortes* revealed that Spain enjoyed popular representation more than one century earlier than France and Germany. For Gayangos, this was the reason why the publication of these papers, which had begun during the short-lived parliamentary government from 1820 to 1823, was subsequently suppressed by the despotic regime of Ferdinand VII opposed to the diffusion of knowledge about any liberal credentials connected with institutions of Spain. Only recently, several years after Ferdinand’s death, the *Real Academia de la Historia* had resumed the project and published the Acts of the Cortes of Burgos, Toros and Palencia and other minor provinces. Gayangos stated that the edition was of crucial importance to anyone who wished to

³⁶¹ “Spain under Charles the Second; or Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, British Minister at Madrid, 1690-1699”, *Athenaeum*, 640, 1 February 1840, pp.91-94

³⁶² GAYANGOS, “Acts of the Cortes”, *Athenaeum*, 679, 31 October 1840, p.863

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 864

write on the constitutional history of Spain, and “well worthy an Englishman’s attention” as one of the Acts related to the period

when the houses of Lancaster and Trastamara became united, and the foundations were laid of that alliance which so intimately connected this country and Spain during the greater part of the fifteenth century; and when the Commons, profiting by the dissensions of the nobles and the weakness of the crown, attained a high degree of political power, which they wielded with great firmness and decision during the whole of King John’s reign.³⁶⁴

The first part of Gayangos’ article complemented the line of other Spaniards who were then interpreting the *Cortes* as the expression of the freedom-loving people which they believed had formed the Spanish nation. Gayangos made clear that votes of censure passed on the sovereign for not observing the constitutional forms of the monarchy, were “not uncommon in the early history of Castile.” He thought that if one was to judge from the edition of *Acts of the Cortes*, one could assume that “the popular branch of the Castilian Cortes exercised a degree of power superior to that enjoyed by it in other European legislatures.”³⁶⁵

Alvarez Junco has recently written that the liberals used the history of the Cortes to justify the organisation of local *juntas*, the convocation of the Cortes and their reform movement, including the drafting of a new constitution in 1812. This historical view of the place of the Cortes in medieval Spain was recruited to support the argument that the driving force of the country was the people and not the monarch. “*Los reyes son para el pueblo, y no el pueblo para los reyes*”, wrote Quintana in 1808, “*La gente española conquistó su libertad con su sangre, ella misma se dió reyes que la gobernasen en paz y justicia.*”³⁶⁶ The idea of the “people” as the sovereign force of Spain was an article of faith among the liberals, but a

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 863

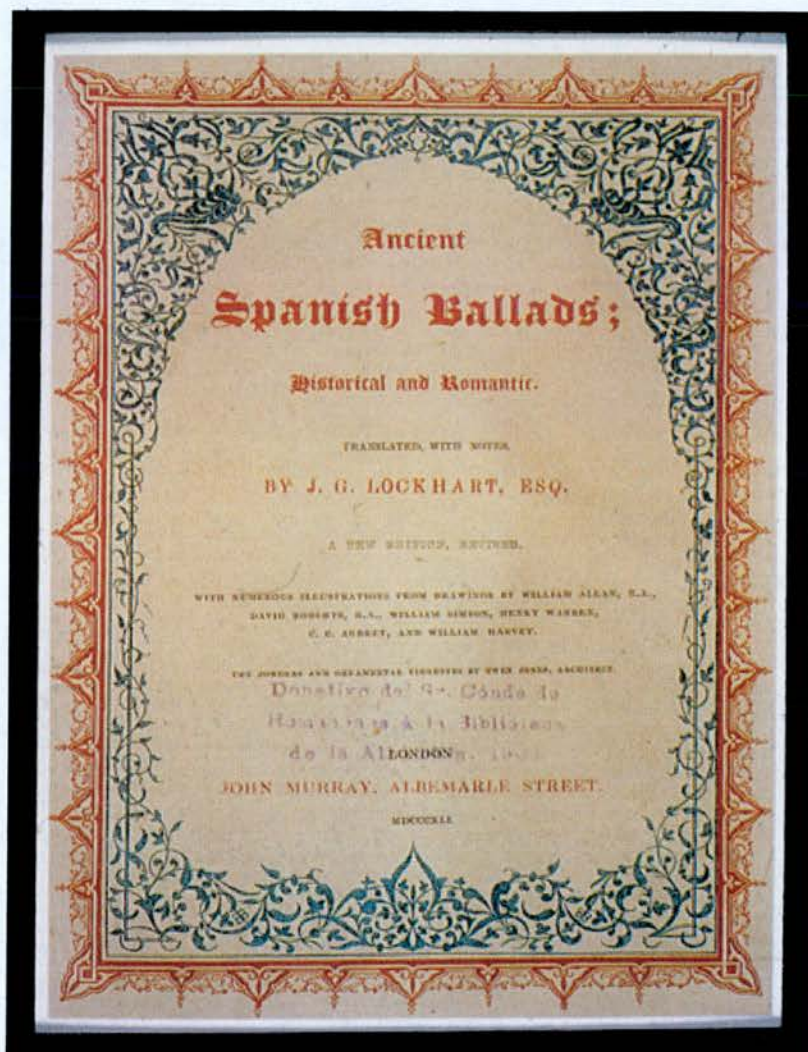
³⁶⁵ *Idem.*

³⁶⁶ QUINTANA, *Seminario Patriótico*, 4, 22 Sept 1808. ALVAREZ JUNCO, 2001, p.132

serious challenge for both conservatives and churchmen alike. Lord Holland and the Whigs would have been taken with this promotion of the status of the Cortes. Therefore, the first part of Gayangos' review trumpeted a theme important to Holland House: the idea of the people as the sovereign force of the nation, not the king. Here is a rare example of Gayangos engaged in a political debate in which, under cover of what appeared ostensibly as a review of a work of history, a contribution was being made to the unhappy history of political conflict in nineteenth-century Spain.

However, the second part of the review of the *Acts of Cortes* shows that Gayangos, in his capacity as a scholar, moved away from the approach that tended to glorify the medieval Cortes. Gayangos judged that the close examination of the documentation demonstrated that the free institutions of Spain were "not so firm and not so extensive as they seem at first sight,"³⁶⁷ and more importantly, they were the result of circumstances, and *not* of the resolution of the people. With a more objective eye, uncontaminated by the Whig agenda of the historical writers in Spain, Gayangos attempted to demystify the history of the Cortes: For example, he explained that the liberal character of the constitutions of León and Castile was due to the necessity to re-people the land and towns left empty by the Mohammedans. Furthermore, he indicated that the rise of the Commons could be ascribed to the wars and feuds which distracted the Peninsula during the fourteenth century. He suggested that the power of the Cortes should not be overestimated: it had often been lost through internal divisions or apathy, and the number of cities permitted to send representatives to the Cortes showed much greater irregularity than those in England.

³⁶⁷ GAYANGOS, "Act of the Cortes", *Athenaeum*, 679, 31 October 1840, p. 864



Title page: *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, by J. G. Lockhart, 1841 –
 Reviewed by Gayangos in the *Athenaeum*

For example, during the fourteenth century, considered as the brightest period for the Cortes, half of the cities were not represented at this institution. Gayangos therefore concluded:

On the whole we must come to the conclusion that though invested with powers at an earlier period than any other popular European legislature, the Cortes contained in themselves the seeds of destruction, and could offer no serious resistance to able and despotic monarchs, such as Charles the Fifth or Philip II.³⁶⁸

This article, although of real potential value as an apology for a liberal standpoint, displays Gayangos' intellectual integrity and independence as scholar and critic, his commitment to establish an unbiased approach towards the history of Spain. Such an ambition sums up the essence of his scholarship on Spanish culture. He was obviously aware of the tendency of his compatriots to inflate the claims as to the place of the Cortes in the political development of Spain. Once removed from the Spanish intellectual world however, Gayangos wrote from a less partisan view point. In short he looked upon Spain with a more objective eye.

By October 1841, Gayangos was also reviewing books on literature and travel writing: the most important Lockhart's translation of *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic* (plate IV),³⁶⁹ a most significant creation of the 1840s, which encouraged the British taste for Spanish culture. Gayangos first pointed out that the ballads bore the strong imprint of Spanish "nationality." By making such a claim, Gayangos was engaging with the writings of Agustín Durán, a friend and protégé of Quintana. Durán was a voracious collector of Spanish romances and had entered the literary scene in Spain with his *Discurso*, a book on Spanish theatre

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 864

³⁶⁹ GAYANGOS, "Ancient Spanish Ballads", *Athenaeum*, 731, 30 October 1841, p. 825-826

(1828). Between 1828 and 1832, he published several collections of Romanceros and offered the public a scholarly yet readable discussion as to their origins, nature and significance. His collection was well received in Spain; reprinted in France in 1838 and Barcelona in 1840 as *Tesoro de los Romanceros y Cancioneros Españoles*. Durán thought Spanish ballads – *la poesía popular* - a significant genre as they constituted the most precious documents as to the “*historía íntima de las naciones: La literature dramática, sostenida por el pueblo, vive con él y para él... Puede decirse que nace y vive con la sociedad que representa.*”³⁷⁰

According to Gayangos too, the ballads reflected the national character of the Spanish people:

the hard struggles of her sons for independence – their deep inveterate hatred of the invaders – the religious enthusiasm and chivalrous spirit which they carried into the sanguinary conflict with the enemies of their faith

These characteristics, that is love for independence, religiosity, a warlike chivalrous spirit had become Spanish traits, and Gayangos was thus in agreement with those Spanish intellectuals, who were trying to establish a basis on which to build a “national identity”, by looking back into the history of Spain. In this search for a national identity, the question arose as to whether the Moors were foreigners finally expelled by the native Christian inhabitants, or whether Muslims and Christians were indigenous. If the latter, then did they share a common history and an increasingly common culture? Gayangos certainly thought so. Commenting on Lockhart, he argued that the influence of Moorish culture could still be seen in Spain and that this was something that distinguished Spain from any other country in Europe: “...the

³⁷⁰ GIES, *Agustín Durán*, 1975, p. 35

singular mixture of northern and oriental manners, which to this day, distinguish that interesting portion of Europe”³⁷¹

For Gayangos there was much greater intercourse between Moors and Christians than generally acknowledged from the early Christian chroniclers onwards. He pointed out that even during the prosperous days of the Umayyad dynasty, “Christian knights visited Cordoba, and lived in comparative security among the people of their own creed and Christian youth studied under Mohammedan philosophers.” In particular after the disintegration of the Caliphate and the division of Spain into a series of different Muslim kingdoms, the Muslim and Christian people associated more freely. For example, if a Muslim prince went to war against another Muslim ruler within Spain, Christian knights of Castile and Aragon often sold their military services to the one who bid highest. In that case, Mohammedan and Christian forces were frequently in pursuit of a common opponent. Gayangos went so far as to claim that: “Christian and Moor seem to have formed but one nation.”³⁷²

He pointed out in relation to ballads that the Spanish language benefited from the Muslim period: “The national language ... was no doubt in some degree modified and improved by the long Arab supremacy, and was rapidly acquiring that flexibility which so well adapted it for the purposes of popular poetry.”³⁷³

The first part of Gayangos on Lockhart is not really a review at all, but an excuse to express some of his own thoughts culture and the Spanish identity. The

³⁷¹ GAYANGOS, “Ancient Spanish Ballads”, *Athenaeum*, 731, 30 October 1841, pp. 825-826

³⁷² *Ibid.*, p.826

³⁷³ *Idem.*

review reveals a continuing ambition to re-instate the importance of the Mohammedan dynasties in the culture of Spain. The question was not just academic, but political. As Brett has pointed out, Gayangos' demand for recovering the truth about al-Andalus "was striking an early blow for its recognition as a civilisation of which Spain could be proud."³⁷⁴ Gayangos' review of Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic* can be seen as a means to put this idea forward.

As it is, only the latter part of the article is dedicated to Lockhart's book, a translation of ballads belonging to three recognised, separate genres: the historical, based on personages from authentic history; the romantic relating to accounts of fabulous heroes of chivalry; and the Morisco, composed after the fall of Granada. Gayangos disagreed with Lockhart on several points: Lockhart thought that the date of the ballads of Don Juan Manuel were the most modern. Gayangos however, proved that these dated back to the fourteenth century. Gayangos thought Lockhart's argument that Morisco ballads were translated from the Arabic as "utterly inadmissible" and "untenable," since no Morisco would have found "pleasure in singing those very events by which they had been deprived of their empire and reduced to the condition of slaves." Furthermore, the ballads bore no trace of Arab manners and customs. As it was, there were many allusions to mythology and classical history, which would not have appeared in Arab writing. Lastly, a Morisco author would never have given his protagonists names borrowed from the Italian romances (Alminda, Celinda, etc.) or clothed them in "robes of yellow and purple, colours abhorred by the true Moslems."³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ BRETT, 2002, p. xiii

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 826

Gayangos made the reader aware of the difficulty of translating poetry whilst he also praised Lockhart's approach. "Mr. Lockhart... has not attempted a very literal version of these ballads – difficulties would have been almost insurmountable." Gayangos judged Lockhart's work very valuable as it "caught the spirit of the several pieces he has selected."³⁷⁶ However, his private view of Lockhart's linguistic skill differed. To Prescott, Gayangos told the truth:

... the work of Lockhart – splendid, magnificent! But how badly he has translated the Romances! He barely knows any Spanish.... I have printed in the Athenaeum a little article, but according to the custom of salaried editors they have suppressed the observations that I made on the merits of the translation without consulting me.³⁷⁷

In addition, Gayangos praised the luxury of the decoration of the book "hitherto unexampled in this country." The margins and vignettes had been embellished by Owen Jones with ornamental designs freely inspired by the Moorish patterns found at the Alhambra, "the enthusiastic author of the noble work illustrative of the Architecture of the Alhambra." Illustrations done by many different artists were admirable; though Gayangos also stated that the defect of the book was "the want of unity." Designs seen separately were beautiful, but taken together, different styles contrasted too violently. In addition, the letter type should have been of a more ornamental character in accordance with the borders and vignettes.³⁷⁸

This was the first article by Gayangos on Spanish literature, and it probably stimulated him to continue studying early Spanish literature. Many years later, after his return to Spain, he edited works on Spanish chivalric literature in the prestigious series, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. In the preface to one of these books, he

³⁷⁶ *Idem*.

³⁷⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 17 Nov. 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.271

³⁷⁸ Ford to Gayangos, 17 October 1841, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.10

acknowledged that his interest in Spanish ballads and romances had increased since 1840 whilst in Britain.³⁷⁹

In his review of Standish's *Seville and its vicinity*, discussed earlier, Gayangos had also turned to the Golden Age period. Whilst he dismissed Standish's work on all aspects of Moorish Seville, he conceded that the minute descriptions of art were valuable. Standish's records were particularly useful, since the collections of the monasteries had been dispersed due to the *Desamortización* in 1836 and the interest of foreign collectors.

Although to the lover of art it may be a matter of indifference whether the masterpieces of Murillo, Zurbaran, and Herrera are to be seen at Paris or Seville, it must be painful to all to know, that, for every picture smuggled out of the Peninsula, twenty are irretrievably lost.

In this context, Gayangos predicted rightly as it turned out, that Standish's book would be an essential record of Seville's rich collections of paintings:

Let the work of destruction which has already lasted seven years, continue but seven more, and works like Mr. Standish's will be the only record of the boasted collections which once existed in that country.³⁸⁰

Furthermore, Standish had the merit of drawing attention to a series of painters and sculptors, whose names were then unfamiliar: Montañés, Alonso Cano, Roelas, Vargas, Herreras, Roldán, Riaño and Arce.

Standish's account of the post-Moorish period was not without errors, though these were hardly so egregious as the massive misapprehension under which Standish had laboured on Moorish Seville. Gayangos pointed out that Standish was mistaken as to the origin and meaning of certain names, such as "No-do" (the emblem of Seville), Casa Lonja, Miramolin (Commander of the Faithful- a title

³⁷⁹ GAYANGOS, "Libros de Caballería, con un discurso preliminar y un catálogo razonado por Don Pascual de Gayangos," *BAE*, 1857. Prologue.

³⁸⁰ GAYANGOS, "Seville and its vicinity", *Athenaeum*, 17 October 1840, p.815

given by the Spaniards to the Moorish kings of Africa). And last but not least, Cid's burial place was not Toledo, but near Burgos; and finally the many typographical errors of proper Spanish names were "beyond number."³⁸¹

Gayangos also disapproved of superficial travel accounts, such as *Summer in Andalusia*, published anonymously in 1839, a book containing the author's accounts of adventures, his encounters with brigands, etc., as well as descriptions of monuments and people.³⁸² Gayangos made the reader aware that these were not unbiased descriptions, but more the author's "impressions". He acknowledged that his "graphic descriptions of popular manners, types, (the muleteer, the bandit, the bull-fighter), the garlic flavoured type of cooking etc", were amusing and witty, but not really original, and not very revealing about Spain. Gayangos' article deconstructs the author's text, exposing the mistakes, in particular those about Islamic monuments and names: "Indeed, throughout the work the attempts at erudition fail almost without exception." Gayangos also dismissed the book as useless with regard to information on "the present condition of Spain":³⁸³ education, agriculture, trade, commerce, the Carlist war. Yet, Gayangos concluded that on the whole "*A Summer in Andalusia*" was above the average of common books of travels for its vivid descriptions and his observations. As a work on Spanish life and manners, the book had merit. Gayangos only regretted that the author had not applied more of his reading knowledge and a more unaffected good-humour to his narrative. Hence, this review reveals *de novo* Gayangos' call for a more objective and accurate approach to Spain, of which he set a vivid example through his own scholarship.

³⁸¹ *Idem.*

³⁸² GAYANGOS, "A summer in Andalusia", *Athenaeum*, 6 July 1839, 610, pp.500-503

³⁸³ *Ibid.*



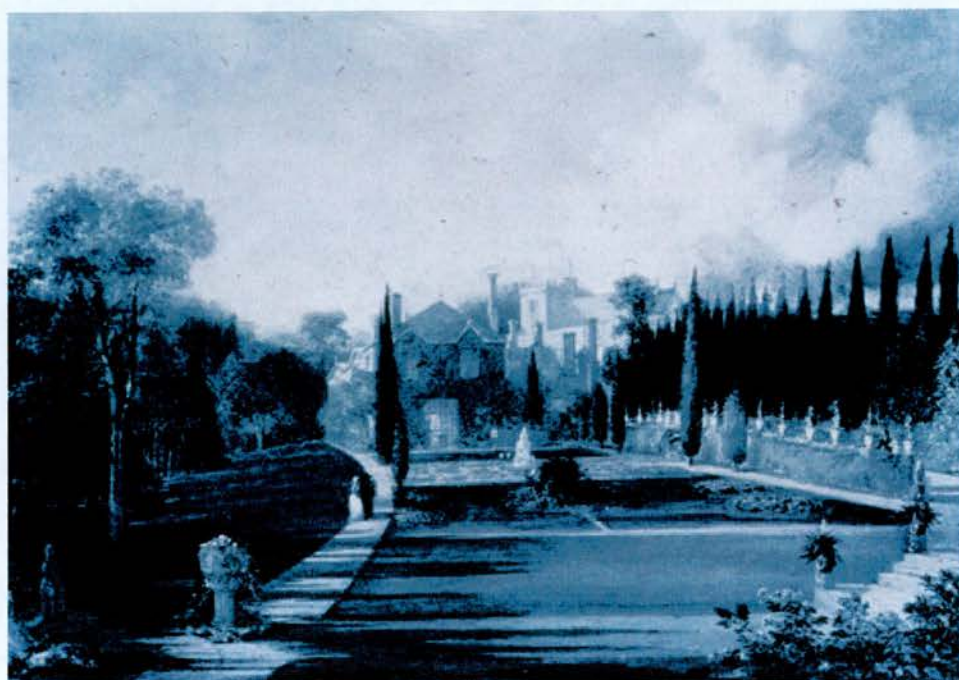
José Dominguez Becquer, *Richard Ford in Spanish dress*, 1832
Gouache and water-colour, 27.3 x 15.5cm, private collection

Chapter 4: 'Más ven quatro ojos que dos'

The purpose of this chapter will be to discuss the position of Gayangos within the wider intellectual and social circles (beyond Holland House) in Britain from the death of Lord Holland in 1840 to the end of Gayangos' life (1897). It will be demonstrated how Gayangos was a vital catalyst in promoting Spanish culture just as he worked successfully to improve understanding in Britain for Spain. It will become apparent that Gayangos influenced a variety of figures of different intellectual, political and social positions, some of whom, it will be argued, were to different degrees dependent: Richard Ford, author of the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), Henry Spencer Ashbee (*Iconography of Don Quixote*), and John Forster (*Chronicle of James I of Aragon*). Hitherto Gayangos' relationships with Forster and Ashbee have never been examined, probably because these are minor figures in the historiography of Spanish studies. Yet they are important to an understanding of Gayangos' impact on the British public, and to illustrate Gayangos' very real versatility. Gayangos' relationship with Ford has come to the attention of scholars: Richard Hitchcock for the first time in 1974 suggested that Gayangos was important to Ford's *Handbook*. However, due to the limited nature of the Hitchcock publication (an edition of Ford's letters to Gayangos), he did not follow up the implications of his idea. Ian Robertson, author of the recent biography of Ford, relied on Hitchcock's edition of Ford's letters to Gayangos to illustrate Ford's life and activities, but in this he pays little regard to the nature of their relationship.



The 'Moorish' tower in the gardens of Heavitree House,
Photograph, 1878, private collection



John Gendall, *View of Heavitree House and gardens*
Watercolour, 49.5 x 62.2 cm, c.1843, private collection

Gayangos was certainly struck by Ford (plate V) as a person who was entirely different from those figures at Whig Holland House: Ford was an outspoken Tory, with innate anti-French feelings and a dislike of Whig politics, which he expressed wherever and whenever possible. What Ford and Gayangos brought together was their shared interest in Spanish culture: books, literature and art, but not politics. How Gayangos reacted to Ford's strictures, for example his outspoken hatred of anything French, is hard to say, as Gayangos' letters to Ford are lost. Ford's letters to Gayangos (1841-1858) do however give the impression that their political views never led to tension between them. Gayangos probably dismissed or ignored Ford's stringent views of the French, and accepted them as part of Ford's make-up. Gayangos was certainly much more astounded by Ford's enthusiasm for Spain. To Gayangos, Ford must have seemed the most passionate and committed Hispanophile he had met in London. Not only had Ford lived in Spain, and immersed himself in Spanish culture over a period of three years from 1830 to 1833, but he had also continued to live "Spanish style" after his return to England: Ford cherished Spanish cuisine, wine and sherry; he had converted his country house and garden at Heavitree into a residence inspired by Moorish design and architecture (plate VI). There he accommodated a vast Spanish library, including books on art, literature and history. In addition, Ford had a collection of Spanish Golden Age paintings, which was one of the first, and for its time, most important collections in England. Ford's environment and life-style was profoundly influenced by his Spanish experience. His 'Hispanism' entirely differed from Lord Holland's, which had been primarily motivated by politics. Ford was attracted by Spain's culture as a whole: manners, customs, language, partly influenced by the Moorish past, Catholic rituals, Spanish

paintings etc., in short, everything which was opposed to the classical tradition and which appealed to the Romantic mind. Ford's shrewd observations of Spain made him think about writing on Spanish customs, society and life shortly after his return in 1833. This project came into shape in 1839,³⁸⁴ when the publisher John Murray commissioned Ford to write a travel guide. Ford was thus in the early stages in the preparation of his *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and readers at home* (1845) when he approached Gayangos. In Chapter Three it has been demonstrated how Gayangos' review of Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* prompted Ford to contact Gayangos. In typical Fordian style (alternating Spanish and English phrases), he invited Gayangos to some "*Puchero con Valdepeñas*" at his house at Grosvenor Square.³⁸⁵ This Spanish dinner took place in February or March 1841 and initiated a long friendship which only came to an end with Ford's death in 1858.

Ford's letters show that they got on extremely well despite different political views. Ford might have looked upon Gayangos' alliance with Holland House with some contempt, but chose to accept it, perhaps in the same way as Gayangos tolerated Ford's hatred for the French. Ford continuously expressed his respect and admiration for Gayangos' as a scholar, for example writing in 1841: "How I envy you entre otras muchas cosas, your knowledge of arabic"³⁸⁶. He had a high regard for Gayangos' scholarship and recognised in his articles "*mano y obra de maestro*".³⁸⁷ Gayangos, however, quickly made out that Ford was not a scholar. He thought that

³⁸⁴ Ford to Addington [c.1834], ROBERTSON, *Richard Ford 1796-1858, Hispanophile, Connoisseur and Critic*, 2004, p.143

³⁸⁵ Ford to Gayangos, n.d. [Feb 1841], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.3.

³⁸⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 23 May [1841], *ibid*, p.8

³⁸⁷ Ford to Gayangos, November 1841, *ibid*, p.12

Ford had more *afición* than *conocimiento* – at least of the Spanish language,³⁸⁸ and certainly Ford soon became dependent on Gayangos' assistance in his own writing, and fully admitted Gayangos' superiority in the field of scholarship. However, this disparity between the two did not prevent them from sharing their zeal as bibliophiles. From the beginning they exchanged notes on respective acquisitions, for example, Ford reported in 1841:

I went yesterday to Mr Rich[']s and bought the curious old Arabic and Spanish vocabulary of Pedro de Alcalá. He still has two copies left of that rare book... I congratulate you on the *Dialogos de* [Vicente de] Carducho [1634] – they are rare. All old books on *tauramaquia* and *Manejo* are seldom met with. The few I have are the apples of my Eye.³⁸⁹

They habitually kept each other informed about their projects and discussed books by other writers. Ford had a genuine and enthusiastic interest in Gayangos' endeavours, which was most likely reciprocated.

More importantly, their relationship was not centred on “business” or “scholarship” only and therefore differs from the association between Gayangos and Prescott (discussed in Chapter Six). Ford and Gayangos exchanged much personal information and reported on the state of affairs in their respective countries. Ford's formal address “*Muy señor mío*” employed in the first letter quickly changed to the more affectionate “Dear Don Pascual”, “*Querido Pascual*” and “*mi amigo*”. The two families knew each other well, and there is almost no letter of Ford's without a reference to Gayangos' wife or children. That Ford took a personal interest in Gayangos' family, is clear from the beginning of their relationship. For example, in November 1841, Ford announced that he hoped to “run up to town in January to

³⁸⁸ Prescott, replying to Gayangos: “You say that he has more *afición* than *conocimiento* – of the Spanish, after all. It is very like. But I suppose he has enough for a Reviewer.” 28 Feb 1841, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.31

³⁸⁹ Ford to Gayangos, London, [1841], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.6

superintend the feliz alumbramiento”, that is the birth of Gayangos’ second child.³⁹⁰ Little later, when the child was ill, he expressed concern: “I hope the chiquito is now quite well and that she [Mrs. Gayangos] is free from anxiety.”³⁹¹ After Gayangos had left for Madrid in 1843, Ford continued to visit Gayangos’ family who stayed behind till 1844. Ford thus often reported: “I saw your Señora yesterday, ... she also has a bad cough for which I have prescribed. The children are the picture of health con ojos arabes y carnes y caras inglesas.”³⁹² Once Gayangos’ wife and children had moved to Madrid too, Ford continuously enquired about them: “let me have a line & tell me how you are, how mi Señora is & the little ones.”³⁹³

Gayangos too had an interest in Ford’s personal and family life. For example, Ford confided in Gayangos in 1846 that he was “rather worried with the illness of Mrs Ford and uncertain as to plans: now it is imagined that London will not do for her, and I shall probably remain here. My son is in Ireland with his dragoon regiments...”³⁹⁴ Ford commented in detail on his son’s travels in Europe. As the two families were close, Ford naturally offered Gayangos his house in Park Street in 1850: “I am now established in Park St. for good. La casa es muy a la disposicion de V.”³⁹⁵ Ford warmly repeated his offer of hospitality when Gayangos announced that he would visit London in 1851, during the Great Exhibition: “I rather suspect London will be very full, and that the Don [Gayangos] will be better under my roof

³⁹⁰ Ford to Gayangos, [Nov 1841], *ibid.*, p.13

Gayangos’ eldest child died in May 1844. *Life of Ticknor*, 1876, vol.2, p.203

³⁹¹ Ford to Gayangos, 5 June [1841-2], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.17

³⁹² Ford to Gayangos, 22 Jan 1844, *ibid.*, p.33

³⁹³ Ford to Gayangos, 5 April 1846, *ibid.*, p.54 and p.70: Ford to Gayangos, 30 Sept 1846 “I hope your Señora ... is well and all the little ones.”

³⁹⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 30 Sept 1846, *ibid.*, p.69

³⁹⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 5 Aut 1850, *ibid.*, p.89

than at any posada.”³⁹⁶ Gayangos arrived with his daughter Emilia in June. Ford, though he had other obligations out of town, left things prepared for them:

The home is at your disposition. My cooks will take your orders as to dinner and the Coachman as to carriage. You and your daughter must make every allowance for the very peculiar circumstances of my position. It is impossible for me to give her the time I could wish. I am full of business and engagements and likely shall be married early in June.³⁹⁷

Ford got married to his third wife on 12 June 1851, but wrote to Gayangos that he had arranged “a pleasant dinner for you on the 26th Monday so accept no engagement for that day.”³⁹⁸ This dinner, almost eight years after Gayangos’ departure for Madrid and intensive correspondence between them, was certainly a merry renewal of their friendship in London. It is obvious from a comment by Ticknor that Gayangos did stay at Ford’s house in June,³⁹⁹ but for how long is unclear. Although he received mail there,⁴⁰⁰ he moved at some point to 44 Halfmoon Crescent, probably because Ford’s house underwent renovation in the later summer and was in “sad disorder and full of workman.”⁴⁰¹ Gayangos abandoned London in October 1850, but left at 123 Park Street “wine and the books” for Ford, who was then travelling in Scotland.⁴⁰² Gayangos’ daughter Emilia remained in London and saw Ford and his new wife quite regularly.⁴⁰³ In July 1852, Ford thought that Emilia was “very well and happy”, however he judged that “she was getting fat on the roast beef

³⁹⁶ Ford to Gaynaogs, 27 Jan 1851, *ibid.*, p.92

³⁹⁷ Ford to Gayangos, n.d.[before June 1851], *ibid.*, p.97. Ford married Mary Molesworth, his third wife on 12 June 1851

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.97

³⁹⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 16 June 1851, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.241 “I am glad you are staying with Mr. Ford.”

⁴⁰⁰ For example, a letter from Dozy is directed to 123 Park Street, RAH, EpG. Two letters from Ticknor, dated 24 and 25 June were directed to Ford’s address too.

⁴⁰¹ Ford to Gayangos, 29 August 1851, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.97

⁴⁰² Ford to Gayangos, 9 Dec 1851, *ibid.*, p.99

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.100: “We are going to call on the Senorita this afternoon”

of old England".⁴⁰⁴ It is likely that Gayangos asked Ford to look after his daughter and assist in introducing her into society. Ford indeed often invited Gayangos to take advantage of his influential position: "If I can be of any use in any manner in England having ciertos amigos que V. sabe command me."⁴⁰⁵ It may well be indeed that Ford introduced Emilia to his friend Baron Bunsen, the German ambassador in London from 1841 to 1854, a noted literary figure and also a friend of George Borrow.⁴⁰⁶ Ford met the "fair Emilia" at least twice at Bunsen's house in winter 1852/3,⁴⁰⁷ where she was "looking very well and handsome."⁴⁰⁸ By the mid-1850s, Emilia seemed to have had a solid position in society where she was renowned "as the reigning beauty of the London season". Her portrait was painted by John 'Spanish' Phillip, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1856 and engraved under the name of *Doña Pepita*.⁴⁰⁹ Ford liked Emilia, and described himself later as her "old friend and admirer."⁴¹⁰ In short, the ties between Gayangos and Ford moved from matters of the mind to a warm friendship between two families.

Gayangos' contribution to Ford's Handbook

We now turn to how Gayangos helped Ford as author. Gayangos was as vital to Ford as he would be to Prescott. Ford was heavily dependent on Gayangos for the very accuracy of his *Handbook*, which became the single most influential English interpretation of Spain and her manners. The *Handbook* was obviously subject of

⁴⁰⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 6 July 1852, *ibid.*, p.103

⁴⁰⁵ Ford to Gayagnos 26 July 1844, *ibid.*, p.39

⁴⁰⁶ Bunsen published *Hippolytus and His Age* and *The Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity Compared*, which Ford reviewed (*Athenaeum*, October 1852)

⁴⁰⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 8 Dec 1852, 10 Feb 1853, *ibid.*, pp.105-107

⁴⁰⁸ *Idem.*, "I dare say we shall see the fair Emilia on Saturday night at the Bunsens."; and 23 March 1853, *ibid.*, p.108. "I met the Señorita Emilia last night looking very well."

⁴⁰⁹ *The Times*, 12 Oct 1897, p.12; TREND, *Origins of Modern Spain*, 1934, p.79

⁴¹⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 6 August 1858, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.119

their conversation when they first met in 1841. Gayangos immediately offered his assistance, which Ford gratefully accepted: “*Admitiendo con sumo agradecimiento, the amiable offer of your assistance in my little handbook, it would be indeed be a service to me,...*”⁴¹¹ Ford requested the loan of the volumes of the *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, a most prestigious Madrid weekly magazine, which contained essays, poems, stories by contemporary writers and poets,⁴¹² and articles on Spanish history and art, reviews of exhibitions in Madrid, biographies of artists. A multifaceted source such as this certainly provided Ford with much valuable and varied information. He promised Gayangos to take “the greatest care” of the volumes, and even offered to have them “bound up...by an excellent encuadernador.”⁴¹³ Practical assistance from Gayangos continued after his departure from London. From Madrid, Gayangos provided central books: Pedro Madrazo’s catalogue of paintings in the Prado (first edition 1843),⁴¹⁴ and Francisco Mellado’s *Guia del viajero en España* (Madrid 1843).⁴¹⁵ Ford was especially keen on receiving Madrazo’s catalogue for the most up-to-date description of the Prado collection, the display and hanging of the paintings.⁴¹⁶ Ford judged the catalogue essential and gave Gayangos precise instructions as to the quickest way of sending it. By then, the *Handbook* was being printed, but Ford decided to “detain the printer, until this

⁴¹¹ Ford to Gayangos, n.d.[1841], *ibid.*, p.4

⁴¹² e.g. Estébanez Calderón, Breton de los Herreros, Flores, Lafuente, Hartzenbusch, Avellanada, Carolina Coronado, Zorrilla, Gil y Carrasco.

⁴¹³ Ford to Gayangos, [1841]. “...if you could lend me your numbers of the Seminario Pintoresco. ... if you will permit me will have them bound up in the country by an excellent encuadernador que tiene mucha practica en libros españoles.” HITCHCOCK, 1974.,p.4

⁴¹⁴ MADRAZO, *Catálogo de los cuadros del museo de pintura y escultura de S.M.*, 1843. Ford to Gayangos’ wife, 16 Oct [1843] *ibid.*, p.32

⁴¹⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 22 Jan 1844, *ibid.*, pp.33-34, n.1

⁴¹⁶ FORD, 1845, pp.746-770

Catalogue arrives”,⁴¹⁷ to make last minute amendments to the section on Madrid. Gayangos continued to provide Ford with all kinds of Spanish rare books. However, assistance soon went far beyond this.

Much more important was advice, opinion and guidance, in fields where Ford felt insecure: literature, etymology and Moorish Spain. Ford had admitted that literature was one of his weaker points, although he had assembled a good Spanish library: “I am strong in Religion..., Arts, and all except the Literature, ...”⁴¹⁸ Ford asked Gayangos for assistance when writing his essay on Spanish language and literature for the *Handbook*. Gayangos had given Ford some “papers” on the subject, and Ford asked him to read his first draft:⁴¹⁹

I am getting slowly on with Handbook. I am still in the preliminary part... I have not yet availed myself the papers which you were so good as to send me. I have written a slight sketch of Spanish language and literature and am now treating on Spanish manners. When the Mss is printed it would be a great favour if you would run you eye over it – mas ven quatro ojos que dos and especially the eyes of a Native.

Gayangos was certainly qualified to help: He had published on *Aljamiada* literature, reviewed Lockhart’s *Spanish Ballads*, and given a brief over-view on Spanish language and literature in his article on “Spain” in the *Penny Cyclopaedia*. Gayangos was fully immersed in the subject of Spanish literature and corresponded with other Hispanists on the subject, especially George Ticknor, the leading American authority in the field. Ford also benefited from Gayangos’ interest in etymology; he continuously asked about the derivation of Spanish words. For example, about the

⁴¹⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 22 Jan 1844, London, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.33. “You might make up a small parcel & get Mr Bulwer Lytton to send it to Mr Addington write my name on each of the books: you might tell Mr Bulwer L that it is for me and for Handbook.”

⁴¹⁸ Ford to Addington [c.1834], ROBERTSON, 2004, p.143

⁴¹⁹ Ford to Gayangos, [before May 1841], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.6

origin of 'Andalucia'⁴²⁰. Gayangos had thought that it came from "Vandalucia" (the land of the vandals), but Ford replied to Gayangos: "If you will look at Casiri, ii, 74, or at Flores España Sagrada IX, you will see that they derive it from Handalusia the land of darkness...I suppose you think Casiri's unfounded"⁴²¹ Although Ford had questioned Gayangos' thesis, he accepted it. He admitted that he was "smitten" with etymological questions, and felt that he could have "no opinion of my own" as he knew nothing of Arabic. He followed Gayangos' advice as to the origin of 'Andalucia' writing in his *Handbook* that Andalucia was "called by the Moors Vandalucia, or Belad al Andalosh, the territory of the Vandal"⁴²² The origin of Al-Andalus is still a subject of debate, however the derivation from "Vandalucia" is not now considered correct. Ford also felt confused about the derivation of 'Boabdil' (the name of the last Nasrid king in Granada),⁴²³ but as a result of Gayangos' reply came to the conclusion that 'Boabdil' was a Spanish corruption of Abu-Abdillah, and that the surname "Rey chico" derived from the king's surname As-Saghir, meaning the younger.⁴²⁴ Ford wondered about the derivation of the name of Cervantes, which Antonio Conde derived from "the name of Cid Hamat ben Engeli as meaning in Arabic Cervantes, the son of a stag."⁴²⁵ Gayangos certainly rejected Conde's derivation and probably made Ford aware of the many inaccuracies in Conde's writing in general. Ford replied: "What you say about Cervantes and Conde's derivation is very curious, and I have no doubt yours is the correct etym[ology]."⁴²⁶

⁴²⁰ VALLVE, "Sobre algunos problemas de la invasión musulmana", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, IV, 1967, pp.361-367

⁴²¹ Ford to Gayangos, 23 May 1841, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.7.

⁴²² FORD, 1847, p.1

⁴²³ Ford to Gayangos, [1842], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.19

⁴²⁴ FORD, 1847, p.125

⁴²⁵ Ford to Gayangos, [1842], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.19

⁴²⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 22 July 1842, *ibid.* p.21

Gayangos' expertise on Spanish etymology was widely acknowledged. Ticknor put certain etymological queries to Gayangos.⁴²⁷ and even referred a friend interested in the evolution of the Spanish language to him too: "Nobody, that I know of, can better indicate to him, the sources he should see, or the direction he should follow, & therefore, I commend him to you." This was Mariano Cubi i Soler, probably the author of *A New Spanish Grammar* (1825), who lived in the States, but wished to go to Spain to study "in its different provinces the different dialects with a view to elucidate some obscure points connected with the history of the Spanish Language."⁴²⁸ During the gestation of the *Handbook* indeed, Gayangos was actually thinking about writing an etymological dictionary.⁴²⁹ This, Ticknor encouraged him to do: "Some time or other, I trust, you will give us your *Diccionario Etymologico* which is almost as much wanted, as if there had never been an Academy or Covarrubias had never written."⁴³⁰ It never happened. Yet, Gayangos' knowledge was not wasted as he poured it into the work of Ford. Ford's bibliography on etymology indicated in his *Handbook* certainly derived from Gayangos. Ford had reported in 1841 that he did have a little "vocabulario valenciano Castellano by Justo Pastor Fuster (1827),⁴³¹ but probably on Gayangos' suggestion, purchased "the curious old Arabic and Spanish vocabulary" by Pedro de Alcalá: *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, Granada, 1505. Ford then recommended it to his readership as an essential source. Ford also drew the reader's attention to Gayangos by indicating that his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, though not an etymological dictionary,

⁴²⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 29 December 1841, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.26

⁴²⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 10 July 1842, *ibid.*, p.38

⁴²⁹ See Gayangos' notebook 2, 1858: list of vocabulary, Spanish words derived from Arabic. BN, Mss 18477

⁴³⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 29 December 1841, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.26

Sebastian Covarrubias: author of *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, 1611

⁴³¹ Ford to Gayangos, 23 May [1841], *ibid.*, p.7

contained further “Arabic etymologies.”⁴³² In addition, Gayangos proof read Ford’s glossary of Spanish words and expressions. It seems that Ford’s first draft contained a “few errors *de imprenta* of certain Spanish phrases which made your wife laugh”.⁴³³ Just before Gayangos was leaving London in 1843, Ford begged him to look over the corrected sheet.

Given the pre-eminence of Gayangos as an authority on Moorish Spain, it comes as no surprise to learn that here Ford became particularly dependent. As soon as the first volume of Gayangos’ *Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain* had come out, Ford had sensed that it was a “valuable work”; though he then felt “too lazy to read” it, probably slightly put off by the dryness of the Al-Makkari text.⁴³⁴ Gayangos himself recognised the “the reading of it is so dry that it will only be undertaken by a very few”.⁴³⁵ Yet, eventually Ford did read Gayangos’ work very carefully. He relied on it in the composition of his *Handbook*, and soon informed Gayangos that he was “constantly quoting and lauding” him in his *Handbook*,⁴³⁶ referring to *Mohammedan Dynasties* to explain the origin of the term ‘Mozarabe’,⁴³⁷ and to comment on Toledo’s and Seville’s rich Moorish past.⁴³⁸ In his account of Moorish Seville, Ford firmly established Gayangos as the authority on the subject, and warned the reader of the many inaccurate compilations by others:

⁴³² FORD, 1845, vol 1, p.86

⁴³³ Ford to Gayangos, 22 July 1842, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.21

⁴³⁴ Ford’s first letter to Gayangos, [Jan or Feb. 1841], *ibid.*, p.3

⁴³⁵ Gayangos to Prescott, 22 August 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.243

⁴³⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 5 June [1841 or 1842], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.16

⁴³⁷ FORD, 1845, vol. 2, p.846: “the Arabic Must-Arab means men who have lived with and tried to imitate the Arab and who were not Arab-a-Araba like the Hebrew of the Hebrews (Moh.D.i.420)”

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.832: “Toledo was first taken by the Moors it was filled with Hebrews... who, facilitated the progress of the Berbers, who themselves were half Jews and half Pagans. The extraordinary spoil, as detailed in Moh. D. ii.7 and Conde, i.38, proves how rich the city then was.

... our accurate friend Gayangos, who here, and for the first time, has cleared away the slough of errors in which many have been engulfed, and threatens all those who copy what they find written in bad Spanish and worse foreign guides.⁴³⁹

Much of Gayangos' frustration with erroneous writings on Moorish Spain went into the *Handbook*. For example, Ford repeated, in his bibliography on Seville, Gayangos' negative opinion of Standish's *Seville and its Vicinity* (1840), describing it as a "dull, inaccurate compilation".⁴⁴⁰ In his comment on Cordoba, Ford again referred to Gayangos in order to give more weight to his statement:

The wealth, luxury and civilization of Cordova under the Beni-Ummeyah dynasty, almost seems an Aladdin tale; yet Gayangos has demonstrated its historical accuracy.⁴⁴¹

Ford's discussion of Moorish buildings include references to Gayangos, for example in relation to the provenance of the material used for the Great Mosque in Cordoba, Ford specified: "Gayangos remarks that the whole building was principally constructed with materials taken from Greek and Roman temples in and out of the Peninsula."⁴⁴² Regarding the ruined palace city of Medina Zahara Ford indicated that Gayangos and Conde had detailed "the historical, but almost incredible luxuries of this Aladdin palace... This museum of art was entirely destroyed Feb 18 1009". Here however, it should be pointed out that Southey writing in 1827 had anticipated Ford in noticing the significance of Medina Zahara in the history of Moorish civilisation in Spain.⁴⁴³ However, Ford was now able to reinforce this point by quoting directly from an Arabic historian taken from Gayangos.⁴⁴⁴ Ford depended again on Gayangos

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.248, and FORD, 1847, p.37

⁴⁴⁰ FORD, 1845, vol.1, p.243

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.295

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, p.299

⁴⁴³ SOUTHEY, "Spanish Moors" in *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 1827

⁴⁴⁴ FORD, 1845, p.302.

for his comment on the Moorish decoration and inscriptions in the Alhambra,⁴⁴⁵ explaining the tradition of inscriptions on Spanish knives:

It is a Moorish custom, for our friend Gayangos has traced in what appeared to be a mere scrolly ornament, on a modern Albacete cuchillo these Arabic words. "With the help of Allah! I hope to kill my enemy!"⁴⁴⁶

Ford's bibliography for Moorish Spain, derived from Gayangos too. In 1841, Ford asked Gayangos for his opinion on the books he owned.⁴⁴⁷ Gayangos had already insinuated that Casiri's catalogue of the Escorial library *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* (1760-79) "was not quite so careful as it might have been", but Ford now wished to have Gayangos' definite opinion, which he then reflected in his *Handbook*: "a work... which teems with inaccuracies, for Casiri was careless and reckless, and utterly ignorant of the Augustan age of the Arabic literature of Cordova."⁴⁴⁸ Furthermore, he wanted Gayangos' opinion on James Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities* (1815), a book including many architectural drawings of the *Alhambra*: Was it really "miserable"? And what did Gayangos think of Joseph von Aschbach's *Geschichte der Ommajaden in Spanien* (1829), which Ford himself had not read, but had heard was a "poor thing"? In addition, Ford wished to know the exact title of Lembke's *Geschichte von Spanien* (1831), as he had mislaid it. Ford also reported that he had José Antonio Conde's *Historia de la Denominación de España*. It is unclear what Gayangos thought about all these questions. His letters to Ford are lost. However, it is apparent from Ford's printed bibliography that

⁴⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.373

⁴⁴⁶ *ibid.*, vol.2, p.859

⁴⁴⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 23 May 1841, HITCHCOCK, 1974, pp.7-8. These included: Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, 1760-70; Conde, *Historia de la dominación de los Arabes en España*, 1820-21; Marles, *Histoire de la domination des Arabes des des Maures en Espagne et Portugal*, 1825; Aschbach, *Geschichte der Ommajaden in Spanien*, 1829-30; Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities in Spain*, 1815; Lembke, *Geschichte von Spanien*, 1831.

⁴⁴⁸ FORD, 1845, p.818

Gayangos had eliminated Murphy, Aschbach and Lembke from Ford's list. Conde's *Historia de la Denominacion de los Arabes* and Gayangos' own book were the only ones which Ford included in his list of "artistic and historical authorities". He established Gayangos as the first competent scholar on Moorish Spain:

This gentleman (and our valued friend) is by far the first Hispano-Arabic scholar of his day, and unites to indefatigable industry a sound critical judgment, he has unravelled the perplexed subjects, which he may be said to have exhausted.⁴⁴⁹

Ford's comment on Gayangos' predecessor, Conde, now mirrored what Gayangos had written about Conde in his preface to his *Mohammedan Dynasties*: A very valuable source indeed, since compiled from Arabic sources, but it contained "sundry inaccuracies and a general want of arrangement."⁴⁵⁰ Gayangos' reply probably further prompted Ford to warn the reader that Marle's *Histoire de la Domination des Arabes* was a bad translation from Conde's with some new but "inaccurate matter."⁴⁵¹ Thus with Gayangos' help, Ford's bibliography became authoritative and scholarly.

Much of Ford was influenced by Gayangos. Negative comments on the neglect of Arabic studies in Spain match Gayangos' opinion expressed for the first time in his article in the *Westminster Review* (discussed in Chapter One). Ford's account of the history of the library of the Escorial was close to Gayangos:

But Arabic literature has been much neglected in Spain, where... it might best have been cultivated, [...] The librarian of the Escorial is professedly ignorant of Arabic: such things, however, occur in other museums and universities.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ FORD, 1845, p.131

⁴⁵⁰ *Idem.*

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.li

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, vol.2, pp.818-819

Ford promoted Gayangos as the one who would change these things and improve the understanding of Spain's Moorish heritage: "Spain now possesses a first-rate Arabic scholar in our excellent friend Don Pascual de Gayangos, who should explore the Escorial."⁴⁵³ Ford also referred to Gayangos as the leading scholar in the field in his comment on the collection of coins in the *Armería* in Madrid. Ford stated that the Moorish coins had "been admirably and scientifically arranged by Gayangos" and that therefore the *Armería* was "probably the only place in Europe where the subject can be fully understood."⁴⁵⁴ Ford's positive comments on Gayangos' works were a real mark of respect, for Ford by temperament, was difficult to please. He was always disinclined to have heroes; though he made an exception for the Duke of Wellington and also perhaps for Don Pascual de Gayangos.

Ford only gives us a partial view of Gayangos. Many debts came about through conversation. Ford always looked forward to meetings. For example in November 1841, he wrote from Heavitree that he wished to "run up to town in January ... to have the pleasure of seeing you often *cuando trataremos más largo de las cosas de España*"⁴⁵⁵ It seems that Gayangos' assistance was so important to Ford that the idea of losing Gayangos as a consultant upset him. Indeed, when Ford had first learned about Gayangos' plan to leave London for Tunis, he reacted with distress:

I hope that you will ere many years pass come back again among us, for after all London is better than that scorching city I am sure we shall miss you, for in the matter of Moorish and Spanish History id est – really correct information – adios! – at all events.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ FORD, 1845, vol.2, p.819

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.789

⁴⁵⁵ Ford to Gayangos, [Nov 1841], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.13

⁴⁵⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 5 June [1841 or 1842], *ibid.*, p.16

It is clear from this comment that Ford's ambition was to write an authoritative *Handbook* that would distinguish him from what were for the most part inaccurate travel accounts that began to emerge from the 1830s. For Ford his book was to be "correct & something better than those superficial compilations..."⁴⁵⁷

As with Prescott (discussed in Chapter Six) so with Ford, Gayangos was indispensable. Ford hoped that Gayangos would write in the *Penny Cyclopaedia* for "the remaining Spanish subjects". Such articles would "go far to do away with some of the crassissimos errors, that are handed down in our books of reference, by one author to another."⁴⁵⁸ Ford announced in July 1842 that he would come to London soon and hoped that the departure of Gayangos for Spain would be delayed, so that they could meet again.⁴⁵⁹ When Ford finally arrived at the end of August 1842, he invited Gayangos to be his "guest, at Greenwich", his favourite place to spend time with friends. "I wish very much to have a chat with you quietly" wrote Ford. Ford certainly attached particular importance to this meeting, as he felt that this was going to be his last chance of consulting Gayangos in person. He thus tempted Gayangos with good food and wine: "Sabe Vmd. Que alla se come unos pescallos de lo mas sabroso, y se bebe ciertas heladas que hermanan bien con dichos manza[nillas]."⁴⁶⁰ This was a significant and enjoyable meeting for both as Ford long remembered it. Several years later when Ford revisited Greenwich with Lockhart and others, he nostalgically recalled his excursion with Gayangos, referring to "aquellos pescadillos

⁴⁵⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 4 October 1843, *ibid.*, p.30

⁴⁵⁸ Ford to Gayangos, 22 July 1842, *ibid.*, p.21

⁴⁵⁹ *Idem*

⁴⁶⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 29 Aug 1842, *ibid.*, p.23

tan sabrosos que gustan tan (sic) a Vmd. The white bait this year & the iced champaign I assure you were excellent. I wish you had been with us.”⁴⁶¹

In the autumn of 1842, Ford addressed a letter to Gayangos’ wife to enquire whether his “querido y estimado amigo Don Pascual” was still in London as he had further outstanding queries.⁴⁶² Ford might have met Gayangos again, since he remained in London till 1843, due to delays of printing *Mohammedan Dynasties*. It is of course impossible to determine the advice that Ford received from that talk. However, references to meetings and Ford’s keenness on sustaining contact suggests that help was substantial. There is every reason to suppose that it covered a wide variety of topics and information.

Gayangos’ absence from London had unexpected advantages. Gayangos never went to Tunis and instead he became professor of Arabic in Madrid, and as a result Ford now pestered him with questions, mostly regarding topography. Gayangos provided him with precise information of places, which Ford was unable to remember, or which had changed since Ford’s sojourn in Spain. Ford forwarded him a list of questions regarding Valladolid:

I enclose you trescientas preguntas: You might show the paper to Carderera, and if you find any emigrado of Valladolid perhaps he would send it to some friend of his there for a correct reply.⁴⁶³

That Ford approached the artist and archaeologist Valentin Carderera through Gayangos was appropriate. Carderera was a close friend of Gayangos, who knew Spain’s most important monuments well since he had catalogued the architectural and artistic treasures of monasteries in the provinces of Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid

⁴⁶¹ Ford to Gayangos, 26 July 1844, *ibid.*, p.39

⁴⁶² Ford to Gayangos, [October 1842], *ibid.*, p.24

⁴⁶³ Ford to Gayangos, 30 July [1843], *ibid.*, p.26

and Salamanca, a task, which had occupied him from 1836 to 1850.⁴⁶⁴ By October, Gayangos had not replied, and Ford, by then under pressure, wrote again: "Pray if you can send me any answers regarding Valladolid do so, as Handbook is finished."⁴⁶⁵ At other times, Ford requested information on Segovia, Toledo, Avila and Burgos: Was there "a Museo at Segovia or at Toledo"? Was Cid's tomb "at St. Pedro de Cardeña near Burgos"? Was the monument in the Dominican convent to Prince Juan (the son of Ferdinand and Isabella) still there? And what about the tomb of San Vicente at Avila?⁴⁶⁶ That Ford received answers to his queries, including those regarding Valladolid, is clear from Ford's later reply: "...many thanks to both of you."⁴⁶⁷ and from the *Handbook*. The information thus obtained enabled Ford to be accurate. For example, on the tomb of Prince Juan, Ford wrote: "This beautiful tomb, and master piece of Micer Domenico, of Florence, was raised by the prince's treasurer, Juan Velasquez, who added a short but pathetic epitaph. It is placed under an elliptical arch, and resembles the exquisite royal sepulchres at Granada."⁴⁶⁸ Ford also included detailed information on the legend attached to St. Vincent ('el bujo'), which explained the foundation of the Church of San Vicente.⁴⁶⁹ Ford approached Gayangos again with further questions regarding topographical information on Madrid and Toledo, most of which Gayangos could easily answer, such as: "Is there a Museo at Toledo & if so is the grand picture by Griego El Conde de Orgaz in it[?]. Is the Museo de la Artilleria moved back from the Retiro to the Buena Vista?..."⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁴ See CARDERERA, *Memoria comprensiva de los Trabajos verificados por las comisiones de Monumentos Historicaos y Artisticos del Reino* (1845). Ford owned this volume.

⁴⁶⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 4 Oct 1843, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.29

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.29

⁴⁶⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 22 Jan 1844, *ibid.*, p.33: "Your letter with the note of Carderera reached me this morning... many thanks to both of you."

⁴⁶⁸ FORD, 1845, p.806

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.806-7

⁴⁷⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 2 July 1844, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.36

These questions show that Ford often muddled his facts: The Museo Militar de la Artilleria was moved from the Palacio de Buenavista to the Palacio del Retiro in 1841 (and not vice versa), and El Greco's *Funeral of the Count of Orgaz* never left the church of St. Tomé. Gayangos was particularly qualified to give Ford information on Toledo as he had spent a week there in 1836. Gayangos' detailed notes describing the topography of Toledo, its sites and monuments, inscriptions in Latin and Arabic, paintings and the precious library in the chapter house of the Cathedral, are today amongst Gayangos' papers in the *Real Academia de la Historia*.⁴⁷¹ With the help of Gayangos, Ford thus ascertained these facts correctly.

Ford sent Gayangos a copy of his first edition, printed in 1844, and invited him to comment: "Any misprints in handbook will be thankfully received if you will just note the word & page. The type is the Devil, so small & so much of it."⁴⁷² This first edition was withdrawn by Ford on the advice of his friend Henry Unwin Addington, the former minister Plenipotentiary in Madrid (till 1833). Gayangos' comments may well have been important to the decision to abandon the first print run. To Prescott, Gayangos had written that it was a notable production, but "marred by inopportune pedantry, and too many excursions into politics. The author's antipathy for the French is very marked."⁴⁷³ Ford spent much of the winter 1844-5 reediting it, striking out "much criticism & battling" and adding "largely to the description & topographical."⁴⁷⁴ Just before finishing printing the Handbook, Ford

⁴⁷¹ Gayangos' account of his trip to Toledo, RAH, Gayangos papers, Folder I (3)

⁴⁷² Ford to Gayangos, 8 Jan 1845, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.43

⁴⁷³ Gayangos to Prescott, 15 October 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.510

⁴⁷⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 30 April 1845, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.45

sent a last set of queries, repeating the questions regarding the location of El Greco's Count of Orgaz, and adding more about Madrid:

What street do the senators sit in? Have Godoy's pictures in the R.A. Sn Fernando been restored to him? ... Is the galleria reservada in the Museo still there? Is Gen Narvaez Duque de Ardoz? Do you think any rail roads likely really to be carried out in Spain? ... Please to give me a list of the contemplated railroads"⁴⁷⁵

Gayangos was able to supply Ford with this factual information relatively easily. He not only relied on his own knowledge of contemporary Spain, but also on his vast collection of books on the history of towns and cities in Spain,⁴⁷⁶ to which Ford often alluded in his letters.⁴⁷⁷ The descriptive and topographical information supplied was crucial to the accuracy and therefore to the very achievement of the *Handbook*. In this, the reader found for the first time a reliable inventory of sites, monuments and works of art in Spain.

The *Handbook* was finally published in two volumes in 1845. Immediately, it was far more successful than Ford or Murray had ever imagined. Ford enthusiastically reported to Gayangos that 600 copies were sold on the first day, and proudly announced in 1846 that the *Handbook* had become to be regarded as an authority on Spain. It received overwhelmingly positive criticism by the reviewers, who agreed that the two volumes superseded the limit of the usual travel guide: For example, *The Times* maintained: "So great a literary achievement has never before

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.45-6

⁴⁷⁶ See *Informe emitido por la comisión nombrada por las Reales Academias Española y de la Historia. Sobre la conveniencia de la adquisición por el estado de la Biblioteca de D. Pascual de Gayangos y Tasación de la misma*. Madrid, 1899.

His collection on local history was probably the most complete of this type.

Ford: "I am dying to see the catalogue of your topographical books pray send it to me." 5 April 1846, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.24

⁴⁷⁷ "I should much like to see your topographical library." Ford to Gayangos, 15 Oct 1849, *ibid.*, p.88

been performed under so humble a title”⁴⁷⁸ Lockhart praised the literary style “picturesque, animated, original and attractive”,⁴⁷⁹ and many found the “narrative easy and genial”, where “deep thought and deep learning are constantly produced at need, but never obtruded.”⁴⁸⁰ Only a few objected to Ford’s opinionated writings, his prejudices against the French, and his “unmeasured contempt in regard to the national intellect and attainments [of the Spanish]”⁴⁸¹. Whilst opinions were divided in this respect, there was a general consensus about the impressive amount of accurate information and learning, which rendered “it absolutely indispensable” as a guide to the tourist and “a work of reference for home dwellers.”⁴⁸² Lord Clarendon, who had been English ambassador to Spain (1833-9) and during that time, an enthusiast for Goya, recognised the difficulty of accomplishing the task:

Knowing as I do the difficulty of ascertaining facts, and the almost impossibility of obtaining any literary or scientific assistance in Spain, I cannot sufficiently admire both your industry and learning.⁴⁸³

Ford had found his “literary and scientific assistance” in Gayangos, whose contribution added to the accuracy and learning of the *Handbook*, and thus to its very success. George Ticknor, Gayangos’ regular correspondent, sensed that Gayangos stood behind much of Ford’s learning and wrote: “I suspect that book owes a good deal of its learning directly or indirectly to you.”⁴⁸⁴ Just before publication, Ford had written to Gayangos: “Whenever I have sucked your brains, I have acknowledged the

⁴⁷⁸ ROBERTSON, 2003, p.214

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.214

⁴⁸⁰ Banks, *Fraser’s Magazine*, April 1846, ROBERTSON, 2004, p.215

⁴⁸¹ [DUNHAM, A], “Handbook for Travellers in Spain”, *Athenaeum*, 30 August 1845, pp.851-2. Abraham Hayward had reservations concerning Ford’s “political conclusions.” *Edinburgh Review*, April 1846. ROBERTSON, 2004, pp.215-6

⁴⁸² *Idem.*

⁴⁸³ *Idem.*

⁴⁸⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 23 March 1846, PENNEY, *Ticknor*. 1927, p.115

obligation & I trust your work will become better known.”⁴⁸⁵ There were indeed eleven references to Gayangos in the *Handbook*, some of which have been indicated earlier in this chapter. Soon after publication, Ford begged Gayangos to accept as a gift all his “gold silver & Moorish copper coins”;⁴⁸⁶ Gayangos added them to his collection.⁴⁸⁷ This gesture again confirms how significant Gayangos’ assistance was, in short just how much Ford owed to Gayangos. Surely Ford could have written the *Handbook* without Gayangos, and certainly Ford’s gifts as a stylist owed nothing to the Spanish intellectual. Ford, has been described by some as *chevalier de la plume*,⁴⁸⁸ but he would never have achieved that special combination of accuracy with delight which made the *Handbook* the most famous of all Victorian travel guides.

Gayangos and the second and third edition

Gayangos’ assistance did not end with the first edition. As a result of its enormous success (1800 copies had been sold by the end of 1845) a second edition was envisaged in 1846. Ford immediately invited Gayangos to undertake the revision: “We are about to print a Second Edition; so any remarks of yours will be invaluable. Could you send me your annotated copy back...I will honestly return it with many thanks.” As an incentive, Ford tempted Gayangos with printed acknowledgments and recognition, which Gayangos obviously craved: “& moreover, I will do anything agreeable to you either in addition or extraction,... you I hope are satisfied with the manner in which I mention you.”⁴⁸⁹ Gayangos duly attended to the task; supplying

⁴⁸⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 8 Jan 1845, HITCHCOCK, p.42

⁴⁸⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 1 Aug 1845, *ibid.*, p.48

⁴⁸⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 5 April 1846, *ibid.*, p.54 “I rejoice that the coins please you.”

⁴⁸⁸ Sumner to Prescott, 28 June 1839, MHS-P

⁴⁸⁹ Ford to Gayangos, 5 April 1846, *ibid.*, p.24

Ford with corrections and new material, which he sent in parts. Ford replied: "Many thanks for your kind corrections. You cannot suggest too many as I want much to abbreviate in order to introduce new matter."⁴⁹⁰ A little later in July 1846, Ford thanked Gayangos again for his "critiques which are invaluable to me"⁴⁹¹ On 5 September 1846, Ford urged Gayangos for the next set: "Let me soon have another batch of Handbook corrections, which are most acceptable."⁴⁹² Only a day later, he wrote again "Let me soon hear from you and send me your Handbook corrections which are invaluable."⁴⁹³ These arrived by December and, as Ford's reply suggests, were substantial: "Muchas gracias para todas cuantas sus emendas [sic] y mejoras tan importantes."⁴⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the volumes annotated by Gayangos are unknown. An assessment of Gayangos' influence has to be based therefore on the study of Ford's letters and the comparison of the first and second edition. Some of the letters suggest that many of Gayangos' corrections focused on Moorish Spain: "Many thanks for your Arabic corrections", wrote Ford. "I know nothing whatever of that language, although "set down by some critics as a profound orientalist." Other letters suggest that Gayangos helped Ford in abbreviating his text, a necessity as Murray had insisted upon compressing the *Handbook* into one volume to make it more portable.⁴⁹⁵ Ford therefore had to "cut out a good deal" and invited Gayangos to trim the text: "you have only to name when and where"⁴⁹⁶, and "*con toda franqueza*."⁴⁹⁷ Gayangos was probably happy to cut out some of Ford's sarcastic and

⁴⁹⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 28 May 1846, *ibid.*, p.59

⁴⁹¹ Ford to Gayangos, 23 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.64

⁴⁹² Ford to Gayangos, 5 Sep 1846, *ibid.*, p.67

⁴⁹³ Ford to Gayangos, 7 Sep 1846, *ibid.*, p.68

⁴⁹⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 14 Dec 1846, *ibid.*, p.75

⁴⁹⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 27 Nov 1843, *ibid.*, p.50

⁴⁹⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 22 June 1846, *ibid.*, p.60

⁴⁹⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 23 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.64

stinging comments, which he clearly disliked.⁴⁹⁸ Once Ford had applied the surgical knife, he reported that the second edition would be “a charming book... with all the *ajo y veneno* [garlic and poison] extracted”.⁴⁹⁹

Gayangos not only helped cut superfluity, he added material. He drew attention to recent books: *Sevilla Pinturesca* (1844) and *Toledo Pinturesca* by Amador de los Ríos,⁵⁰⁰ a friend of Gayangos whom he had assisted with the translation of Arabic inscriptions.⁵⁰¹ Ford included these in bibliographies on Seville and Toledo, describing the latter one as the “the last and most useful”⁵⁰² book on the city. Gayangos provided Ford with the new edition of the catalogue of paintings of the Prado, which updated information on the Prado.⁵⁰³ He consulted Gayangos on the security of the roads in Spain: “I would rather have your opinion before I give one”, for example: whether the route from Jaca via Huesca, Zaragoza, Daroca, Teruel, Trancon, Toledo to Madrid was secure from robbers and therefore to be recommended.⁵⁰⁴ Ford further requested new topographical information: “Is not the Statue of Philip IV moved from the buen Retiro to the Plaza del Oriente?”⁵⁰⁵ “Where is the Conde de Orgaz by el Greco, in the new museo?”⁵⁰⁶ “How many theatres are there at Madrid?”⁵⁰⁷ “Have you got any new theatres at Madrid, que quiere decir, el

⁴⁹⁸ Gayangos to Prescott, 15 October 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.510

⁴⁹⁹ ROBERTSON, 2003, p.221

⁵⁰⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 28 October 1846, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.73 “I have got the Seville pintoresca”

⁵⁰¹ Amador de los Ríos to Gayangos, 1843-1869, RAH, Gayangos papers, Folder 4,

⁵⁰² FORD, *Handbook*, 1847, p.482; p. 32 for entry on Seville.

⁵⁰³ *If you send the Catalogue of the new Museo it will indeed be ... of infinite service for Handbook.*”

Ford to Gayangos, 22 June 1846, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.61

⁵⁰⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 5 April 1846, *ibid.*, p.55

⁵⁰⁵ *idem*

⁵⁰⁶ Ford to Gayangos, [1846], *ibid.*, p.58

⁵⁰⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 23 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.64

del Museo y las Variedades?”⁵⁰⁸ In February 1847, a few months before the publication of the second edition, he pressed Gayangos to answer some last queries:

As you have been so kind as to read over and correct Handbook ... pray finish the good work by letting me know as soon as you can (for second edn is called for ravenously. All the 2000 first being gone) a few points, see other side.⁵⁰⁹

Ford had enclosed a list of five specific questions:

1. Handbook p.737 col.2. Where are all these cinquecento cups?
2. p.806 What has become of the tomb of Prince Juan?
3. Where are the paintings by Rincon which were at Robledo de Chanela (sic), p.801
4. Where are the portraits of the Reyes Catolicos by Rincon when were in the San Juan de los Reyes at Granada – are they there?
5. What became of the Monk by Reseira (sic), p.738”⁵¹⁰

Answers enabled Ford to update: ⁵¹¹ he indicated that the tomb of Prince Juan had been moved away, probably into the Cathedral, an idea “which was contemplated” by the Spanish authorities.⁵¹² Regarding the retablo with paintings by Antonio Rincón in the Church of the Robledo de Chavela, near Madrid, and Rincon’s portraits of Isabela and Ferdinand in Granada, Ford now indicated that they were no longer in place.⁵¹³ He omitted from the 2nd edition his entry on the cinquecento cups from the Cabinet of the Natural History Museum in Madrid, as well as his entry on the statue of San Bruno by Pereyra from the *Hospederia de los Cartujos* in Madrid.⁵¹⁴ Ford was “agradecido para siempre”,⁵¹⁵ since he had relied entirely on Gayangos to undertake the revision of the *Handbook*. Although he had received

⁵⁰⁸ Ford to Gayangos 22 June 1846, *ibid.*, p.60

⁵⁰⁹ Ford to Gayangos, 4 Feb 1847, *ibid.*, p.77

⁵¹⁰ *Idem*

⁵¹¹ Ford to Gayangos, 15 March 1847, *ibid.*, p.78 “Both yours of Feb 15 and March 3 have reached me ... Thanks for the answers to my queries.”

⁵¹² FORD, 1847, p.461

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, p.459

⁵¹⁴ Compare FORD, 1845, p.737 and FORD, 1847, p.413

⁵¹⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 4 Feb 1847, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.77

letters from some readers, “offering hints, and corrections”, he dismissed them as he felt confident enough with Gayangos’ corrections: “Your good natured assistance is enough, basta y sobra.”⁵¹⁶

Most importantly, and this was a new departure for the *Handbook*, Ford also included some research in the archives of Simancas, which, as Chapter Six will demonstrate, Gayangos had undertaken for Prescott in 1844. Ford enquired in 1846 whether the “story of the funeral service being performed over the Emperor while alive”, as told by Robertson in *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1769), was true. Gayangos was in a position to comment. He knew that Tomas Gonzalez, the old librarian at Simancas, had written an account based on Simancas manuscripts: *Retiro, Estancia Y Muerte del Emperador Carlos Quinto en el Monasterio de Yuste*; however, Gonzalez had died and his account was in the hands of his brother Manuel, who did not allow anyone to consult it. Yet, Gayangos was still able to answer Ford’s question, as he had examined the original manuscripts in Simancas. Gayangos certainly told Ford what he had previously told Prescott about Charles V:

It is established by the original documents ... that instead of living a life of devotion, with a few servants, disillusioned with the world and occupied in making watches as Robertson says, he did not relax his attention to politics for an instant but maintained a correspondence with his son and advised him in every difficult question that arose. Instead of living as has been said with few or no followers and reduced to a meagre pension which was not paid very regularly he had a retinue of five hundred servants and gentlemen with a large income which was religiously paid.⁵¹⁷

Ford replied to Gayangos: “What you tell me about Charles V at San Yuste is most valuable & confirms, all that I heard of the good old monks at the convent.”⁵¹⁸ Ford

⁵¹⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 30 September 1846, *ibid.*, p.69

⁵¹⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 10 Oct 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.397

⁵¹⁸ Ford to Gayangos, 5 April 1846, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.54

thus wrote in his *Handbook* that Robertson's "idle tale" of Charles V having had the funeral service said over him while alive was totally unfounded. He further indicated that Robertson was wrong in other respects: Charles V did not retire at Yuste and went on busying himself with government affairs. This represented a substantial revision of the last days of Charles V. Ford therefore concluded:

it is notorious to all conversant with Spanish history that Robertson was a careless veneer of other men's books, and that unlike the far superior Prescott, he never had recourse to the secret papers and authentic manuscripts of the great repository at Simancas [...]. His whole account of Charles at Yuste are erroneous.⁵¹⁹

It is somewhat ironic that a notice of these newly unearthed sources, which overthrew a whole myth about Charles V, appeared for the first time in print in the *Handbook*, a travel guide, not history book. Ford's entry prompted Stirling to examine the Gonzalez manuscripts, which had been purchased in 1847 by the French historian Auguste Mignet on behalf of the French government. As a result, Stirling published his *Cloister Life of Charles V* (1852); this was followed by Mignet's *Charles Quint, son Abdication, son Sejour et sa Mort au Monastere de Yuste* (1854), and Gachard's *Retraite et Mort de Charles Quint, lettres inédites publiées d'après les originaux conservés dans les Archives Royales de Simancas* (Brussels, 1854-1855). Within this context, Ford's entry in his *Handbook* was the first notice in print that shed new light on Charles V's years at Yuste. Ford owed it all to Gayangos at Simancas:

In order to substantiate this we have examined those archives, wrote to our friend Don Pascual Gayangos, one of the first historical investigators of his country, who informed us in reply that he had spent six weeks at Simancas searching into these very circumstances.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ FORD, 1847, p.277

⁵²⁰ *Idem.*

Ford in his generous acknowledgements to Gayangos was quite different to Prescott, who never acknowledged the extent of his debt to Gayangos in *Life of Charles V* (1857). It is therefore satisfying to see that Gayangos received due credit in Ford's *Handbook* for having investigated the original papers in Simancas and thus verified what had been until then merely a rumour. By May 1847, the second edition of the *Handbook* was published. Ford sent Gayangos a copy and again admitted his debt: "Many and great are the thanks which I owe you for your revision. You will find yourself frequently mentioned and I hope with due honor."⁵²¹

Gayangos' contribution to the *Handbook* did not end in 1847, as Ford went on pestering him with further queries for the third edition. When Gayangos reported that he had been travelling in the north of Spain in 1851, Ford envied him as he had never been to "Palencia, Gijon, Infiesto, Covadungo or Cangas de Onis", though he had "ridden a great deal in those parts, not however so much as I could have wished". Hence he invited Gayangos to give him information on these regions:

How much obliged to you I should be would you help me to some more particulars about those districts and name the peculiarities of the early churches, which must indeed be curious.... Do pray therefore enrich *Handbook* for a 3rd Edition.⁵²²

Gayangos had annotated his copy of *Handbook* during that trip and Ford looked forward to obtaining it for his third edition. Knowing that Gayangos would visit London soon, he enquired: "Have you made any notes in Asturias which would be useful to the *Handbook*? If so please to send them."⁵²³ Later, he reminded him: "I pray you to bring all the apuntes, both touching the Asturias and your recent

⁵²¹ Ford to Gayangos, 30 May 1846, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.80

⁵²² Ford to Gayangos, 9 January 1848, *ibid.*, p.84

⁵²³ Ford to Gayangos, 12 Jan 1849, *ibid.*, p.85

Castilian and Aragonese expeditions. I am most curious to have your emendations and corrections.”⁵²⁴ Ford insisted that what he cared “for most are your precious apuntes, the soon you can get here the better.”⁵²⁵

In 1852, Gayangos made a further tour through different provinces taking some more notes, which Ford was keen to have: “What a splendid tour you make, and how much I shall treasure your notes.... If you could manage to let me have them or the annotated handbook, it would be a great favour.”⁵²⁶ Gayangos’ input to the third edition thus consisted in the provision of more detail regarding the lesser known provinces in Spain, which few British travellers visited. Evidently then Gayangos was a significant contributor to the *Handbook* at all its stages: from inception to acclamation; from early to those later editions, which were supervised in Ford’s lifetime, and which made the *Handbook* the first authoritative guidebook to Spain in English and to a standard unsurpassed in any language. Its accuracy and richness in historical detail, in particular regarding Moorish Spain and Charles V, were the fruits of Ford’s permanent dialogue with Gayangos and the latter’s interest in promoting accurate information on Spain in Britain.

Contributions to Ford’s articles

Ford was an excellent and hugely successful essayist who made regular contributions to various British magazines. In this capacity too, he occasionally approached Gayangos for assistance. In 1842, he wished Gayangos to become his accomplice in “dissecting” the book of Genaro Perez Villaamil, a leading Spanish artist: *España, artística y monumental, vistas y descripción de los sitios y*

⁵²⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 21 February, 1850, *ibid.*, p.93

⁵²⁵ Ford to Gayangos 24 April 1851, *ibid.*, p.96

⁵²⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 8 December 1852, *ibid.*, p.105

monumentos más notables de España”,⁵²⁷ of which the first volume had come out in Paris in 1842.⁵²⁸ Ford’s review appeared in 1846,⁵²⁹ but to what extent Gayangos collaborated is unclear. However, he certainly drew Ford’s attention to Carderera’s work for Villamil, and Carderera’s forthcoming publication, *Memoria comprensiva de los trabajos erificados por las comisiones de Monumentos Historicos y Artisticos del Reino* (1845), which included similar plates. It seems that Carderera was not happy with his collaboration with Villamil; though why is not clear. In any event, Ford invited Gayangos and Carderera to provide criticism of Villamil, whom he despised for being an “afrancesado”:

It is a French book; I am not inclined to speak well of it, and even less of the Celtic press: If Carderera, entre nosotros, has any little grudge, he may make me his organ: let him look over and tell me where liberties and inaccuracies occur. Los Gavachos no pueden, por organizacion nacional ser exactos, es menester perfeccionar y afrancesar a todo, lo que me da asco, aborrecen a la natura y a la verdad, dos idolos mios.⁵³⁰

In his final article, Ford compared Carderera’s work to Villamil’s, concluding that Carderera’s drawings were far superior to Villamil. The article was well received. Ford reported to Gayangos: “The article of Sp. Architecture here created a sensation among the craft in London for few here know anything about las cosas de España or los muchos tesoros escondidos más alla de los Pireneos.”⁵³¹

Ford also approached Gayangos about one of the most controversial literary questions of mid-nineteenth century Spain. Was *El Buscapié*, a newly discovered manuscript really by Cervantes? This was claimed by the young bibliophile and historian Adolfo de Castro y Rossi, who had ‘discovered’ and edited the manuscript,

⁵²⁷ Ford to Gayangos’ wife [October 1842], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.24. “I wish to dissect Villamil and his Frenchmen and your marido can be of valuable assistance.”

⁵²⁸ Paris, 3 vols., 1842-50

⁵²⁹ *Quarterly Review*, LXXVII, 1846, pp.496-526

⁵³⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 30 July [1843], HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.26

⁵³¹ Ford to Gayangos, 5 April 1846, *ibid.*, p.24

together with his own notes in 1848. Ford thought about writing on the affair and thus asked Gayangos: "Pray tell me what you think of el Buscapié. Is it genuine? I have a fancy to write a paper on it, so the more information you can give me the better."⁵³² Ford never wrote such an article. Gayangos had suspected early on that the *Buscapié* was a forgery, but he probably did not give Ford any information, as he knew how stringent Ford could be. He knew Adolfo de Castro personally and was protective of him. The affair caused embarrassment to Spanish scholarship, and Gayangos felt reluctant to give information away that would contribute to the scandal. As Chapter Seven will demonstrate, Gayangos did supply Ticknor with details on the affair, asking Ticknor not to reveal his source.

Ford's services to Gayangos

What so far might seem a one-sided relationship was actually very beneficial for Gayangos too. Ford's praise in the *Handbook* helped Gayangos' reputation in Britain. Gayangos had complained that *Mohammedan Dynasties* was not much read; but then the *Handbook*, evidently widely read became an ideal medium to draw the attention of the wider public. In addition, Ford promoted *Mohammedan Dynasties* by simply recommending it to others, for example to a local historian in Ford's home town of Exeter, Reverend Dr. Orlando Dobbin of Topsham, who had given a talk on the expulsion of the Moors from Spain in Exeter in June 1845. Gayangos was certainly pleased when Ford wrote to him: "I also recommended the Catedratico to read the Moh: Dyn: as he did nothing but tell us the old hacknied story."⁵³³ Ford also

⁵³² Ford to Gayangos, 12 Jan 1849, *ibid.*, pp.85-6

⁵³³ Ford to Gayangos, 8 Jan 1845, *ibid.*, p.40. A notice of the lecture is in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 16 Jan 1845.

promised though failed, to review Gayangos' *Mohammedan Dynasties*,⁵³⁴ doubtless because he recognised he simply did not have the authority to comment intelligently on the subject.

Ford early encouraged Gayangos to contact other intellectuals in Britain, with an interest in Oriental studies. Ford wrote:

I dare say that you have heard of Mr. Buckingham the Oriental Traveller, and I think that he would be glad to make your acquaintance and will I dare say present himself to your door. He used to be a good Arabic scholar and has been much in Palastine and Damascus.⁵³⁵

This was James Buckingham (1786-1855), author of *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia* (1830) and of *The buried city of the East, Nineveh* (1851). Ford also thought that Gayangos would be interested in a "very curious Berber Moor ... who understands many of the mountain dialects. Among them is one spoken in the Atlas which is almost identical with the common Irish."⁵³⁶ Ford even supplied Gayangos with the address. That Ford was always keen on introducing Gayangos to his most important contacts is clear from a comment he made regarding Gayangos' trip to Oxford in 1841. Ford was "very sorry" that Gayangos had not let him know of the trip, to "our venerable alma mater", as he could have given him "letters to all the literatos y eruditos todos quantos." Ford, an Oxonian, invited Gayangos to make use of his many contacts there "in all three colleges" in the future: "In case that you might want any facilities, if you will let me know, I will do what I can."⁵³⁷ Clearly Ford was always happy to be associated with Gayangos and would do his utmost to

⁵³⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 26 July 1844, *ibid.*, p.39. "I will turn my hand to a review on the work"

⁵³⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 15 Feb 1842, *ibid.*, p.15

⁵³⁶ *Idem*

⁵³⁷ Ford to Gayangos, n.d. [1841] *ibid.*, p.5

recommend him. Ford assumed that Gayangos had “not gone there without due recomendaciones” by others,⁵³⁸ which he perhaps slightly resented.

Other letters show that Ford introduced Gayangos to a circle of Tory friends, promoting Gayangos as his ‘friend’, a ‘first rate scholar’, who was associated with Prescott, and well informed about Spanish paintings in Britain. He wrote in these terms to his old school friend from Winchester, Francis Thornhill Baring (later Lord Northbrook), the owner of a manuscript on Antonio Perez, Philip II’s secretary (*Sumario del proceso contra el secretario Antonio Perez*). Gayangos, then engaged in research for Prescott’s project on Philip II, was naturally most interested in the manuscript:

Will you let a particular friend of mine see it, Don Pascual de Gayangos, a first rate Spanish and Arabic scholar. He is in correspondence with Prescott, the author of *Ferdinand and Isabella* and profitably might be able to furnish him with something curious.⁵³⁹

Ford was the conduit through which Gayangos stayed in touch with the intellectual world in London, after he had moved back to Madrid in 1843. Ford’s letters put Gayangos in the picture about new publications. He reported that George R. Beauclerk, author of *Journey to Morroco in 1826*, whom Gayangos had met in 1840 or 1841, was “writing grand articles in the Morning Chronicle on the affairs of Morocco”⁵⁴⁰, and that Captain Widdrington (formerly Cook) had published *Spain and the Spaniards*, “a creditable book although rather dry reading.”⁵⁴¹

Regarding George Borrow, Ford’s good friend, whom Gayangos had first met in Madrid before 1837, Ford wrote in July 1844 that Borrow had gone to Turkey,⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ Ford to Gayangos, n.d. [1841] *ibid.*, p.5

⁵³⁹ Ford to Gayangos, 25 July 1842, *ibid.*, p.22

⁵⁴⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 26 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.37

⁵⁴¹ *Idem*

⁵⁴² Ford to Gayangos, 26 July 1844, *ibid.*

and in January 1845, reported: "Borrow is well, he has returned from Constantinople, ... I have sent him your messages about his Sancho Antonio: Buena prenda! Don Jorge is busy at his biography."⁵⁴³ Ford himself was an active reviewer of books and informed Gayangos about his own writings. For example, he announced that he would review *Skizzen in Spanien*, "a charming tour in Spain" by Victor Aimé Huber (1800-1869), professor of literature at the University of Berlin, who published several works on El Cid. Ford had met him personally in London together with Lockhart.⁵⁴⁴ Gayangos did not know Huber, but requested more specific information. Ford replied:

Huber is a friend of mine an excellent person, a camisa of yours pues es catedrático de literatura moderna en la Universidad de Berlin. He is a first rate Spanish scholar... He has recently published at Marburg 1844 *Chronica del Cid*, with an admirable preface written en Castellano.

Through Ford, Gayangos also received a commission of Bulkely Bandinel (1781-1861), the librarian of the Bodleian Library (1813-1860), whom Gayangos met during his research trips to Oxford in the 1840s. Ford had seen the librarian in Oxford and wrote: "Bandinel ... begs to be remembered to you and wishes you to send him the Obras de Fco de Aldana 8 Mad 1593."⁵⁴⁵ This was *Todas las obras que hasta agora se had podido hallar del Capitan F.de Aldana*, edited in Madrid in 1593.

It was also through Ford that Gayangos received first notices on the two authors who were going to publish books on Spanish art: Edmund Head and William Stirling (later Stirling-Maxwell). "Sir Edmund Head is busy on a Handbook of Spanish art, which will be excellent. Sabe mucho y es hombre de bien. I shall send it

⁵⁴³ Ford to Gayangos, 8 Jan 1845, *ibid.*, 1974, p.40

⁵⁴⁴ *Idem.* This was *Chronica del famoso cavallero Cid Ruydiez Campeador... nueva edicion con una introduccion historico-literaria por D.V.A.Huber*, Marburg, 1844.

⁵⁴⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 27 November 1843, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.50

you out as soon as it is printed.”⁵⁴⁶ In 1848, after the publication of Head’s book (1847) and Stirling’s *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848) Ford reported that he was preparing a review of “two excellent works by friends of mine, which are just come out and which I must manage to send you”.⁵⁴⁷ Ford further indicated that Stirling was “making an excellent library, and is my close neighbour here.”⁵⁴⁸ Whilst Ford had praise for Stirling and Head, he warned Gayangos about Borrow’s new book *Lavengro* (1850): “I have read it. It will disappoint.”⁵⁴⁹ Ford also sent Gayangos his own reviews and articles. But theirs was not just a scholarly friendship as the relationship between Gayangos and Prescott can be defined. Ford, by contrast, was altogether more expansive. Ford’s comments often included information on society and the state of politics and affairs in Britain, before the Great Exhibition in 1851, Ford set Gayangos in the picture: London was “in a terrible whirl socially and politically. I cannot say that people are at all comfortable about this monster and foolish exhibition.”⁵⁵⁰

Ford also encouraged Gayangos to make further acquaintances with important Tories. In 1844 he suggested that Gayangos met the son of Sir Robert Peel (Prime Minister 1834-5, 1841-46), who was about to set off travelling for Madrid: “I advise Don Pascual to make his acquaintance: No es mal apoyo, en cualquier evento, la amistad del primogenitor de un Premier como Peel”⁵⁵¹ Ford also introduced Edward Twistleton (1809-1874), a lawyer and politician, and his wife Ellen Dwight

⁵⁴⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 22 June 1846, *ibid.* p.61

⁵⁴⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 9 Jan 1848, *ibid.* p.84

⁵⁴⁸ Ford to Gayangos 5 Aug 1850, *ibid.* p.89

⁵⁴⁹ Ford to Gayangos 15 Jan 1851, *ibid.* p.91

⁵⁵⁰ Ford to Gayangos 5 April 1851, *ibid.* p.94

⁵⁵¹ Ford to Gayangos, 2 July 1844, *ibid.* p.36. Peel’s son was Robert Peel, later, 3rd baronet Peel (1822-1895)

(1828-1862) from Boston.⁵⁵² In another instance, Ford announced that Gayangos “would have soon a visit” from Thomas Baring, Ford’s old schoolfriend from Winchester, head of Baring Brothers from 1828 and chairman of Lloyds from 1830, whom Gayangos had probably met in London.⁵⁵³ Ford wished Gayangos to “assist him at Madrid” and “If there is anything really *sobresaliente*, he would like to be a purchaser.”⁵⁵⁴ In addition, Ford provided Baring with a letter of introduction in which he explicitly asked Gayangos “to do all you can to make Madrid agreeable to Mr. Baring the bearer. Put him in the way of seeing all that is of the very best.”⁵⁵⁵ Gayangos was certainly in a position to introduce Baring to useful contacts, such as his friends Valentin Carderera and the Madrazo brothers, who were the dominant figures on the artistic scene in Madrid. About six months later, Ford provided his close friend George Moffatt, a wholesale China tea-merchant and an MP for Dartmouth with a letter of introduction to Gayangos asking: “Pray assist him as far as you can in seeing Las maravillas de la Corte”⁵⁵⁶ Moffatt was very pleased with his trip and Ford reported back to Gayangos: “Mr Moffatt is returned charmed with his Peninsular campaign.”⁵⁵⁷ Gayangos probably met Moffatt again in 1851 during his stay in London; years later Gayangos enquired after Moffatt and Ford replied: “Moffatt is out of town ... He lives at 103 Eaton Square.”⁵⁵⁸ Although we do not have any account of these people’s travels, it can be imagined that Gayangos welcomed such high profile travellers with the generosity and kindness that he

⁵⁵² Ford to Gayangos, 8 Feb 1845, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.114

⁵⁵³ Ford to Gayangos [1850], *ibid.*, p.87

⁵⁵⁴ *Idem*, p.87.

Ford must have referred to the purchase of paintings. Baring was a collector. He had bought 100 paintings en bloc from the Verstolk collection years earlier. ROBERTSON, 2003, p.246

⁵⁵⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 12 October 1849, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.87

⁵⁵⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 5 August 1850, *ibid.*, p.89

⁵⁵⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 27 Jan 1851, *ibid.*, p.91

⁵⁵⁸ Ford to Gayangos 1 Feb 1852, *ibid.*, p.103

usually showed to anyone interested in Spain. The reception of international visitors was also in Gayangos' personal interest: within the context of society in Madrid, British visitors made Gayangos' household appear distinctively international and well-connected, and thus brought him prestige. For their part, these travellers, after returning to Britain, doubtless continued to mention Gayangos in very positive terms to their acquaintances, and hence help to ensure he was remembered. Ford did his best too. In 1846 he announced: "I am going to dine today with Mr. Grey and your name will be mentioned con debido honor."⁵⁵⁹ The reference might be to Ralph William Grey (1819-69), a friend of Stirling and collector of books, to whom Ford referred in a later letter, indicating that Grey was "now an empleado being a private secretary" to Lord John Russell (Prime Minister in the summer 1846).⁵⁶⁰ Ford also urged Stirling to visit Gayangos during his tour to Spain in 1849:

I wish you would call at 36 Calle de Alcalá on Pascual de Gayangos, & ask him why he does not write to me. I also advise you to have a close look at his topographical books.⁵⁶¹

This Stirling did. Ford reported on 15 October 1850: "I have heard of you with great pleasure from Stirling, who is duly arrived here after his most splendid tour in Spain!"⁵⁶² This visit (as Chapter Eight will demonstrate) initiated Stirling's dependence on Gayangos' assistance and supervision during his composition of *Don Juan of Austria*. Such personal acquaintance, together with the positive comments Ford had made regarding Stirling's *Annals of the Artists of Spain* probably induced Gayangos to present the book to the Spanish readership in his review in the *Revista de Ambos Mundos*, discussed in Chapter One.

⁵⁵⁹ Ford to Gayangos, 23 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.64

⁵⁶⁰ Grey had attended Chorley's sale in October 1846. ROBERTSON, 2004, p.221

⁵⁶¹ Ford to Stirling, 24 April 1849. MLG, T-SK 29/57/15.

⁵⁶² Ford to Gayangos, 15 Oct 1849, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.87

When Gayangos revisited London in 1851, Ford warmly welcomed him. He had arranged a “pleasant dinner” on 26 June. In December, Ford referred to their common acquaintances: “With Mrs Brackenbury tonight at Warbutons; a breakfast is being given here and I meet Wolf... We have the rajah Brooks, Lady Davy, Walpole here, so you see matters go on in London just as when you left us.”⁵⁶³ Mrs. Brackenbury was the widow of John Brackenbury, the former consul in Cadiz, who had been a renowned collector of Spanish paintings. Sir James Brooke (1803-68) was created Rajah of Sarawak in 1841. S. H. Walpole was a Tory politician and at that time MP for Midhurst, Sussex. Lady Davy, was an old acquaintance who Gayangos has already met at Holland House (see Chapter Three).

Ford helped with the purchase of books, often inviting Gayangos to use him as agent: “Send me your commissions, no deseo mas que serle util a V. siendo tan deudor de tantos favores literarios.”⁵⁶⁴ On another occasion Ford wrote: “If I can do anything for you or my good amigo, Mandan V con toda franqueza: Let me be your agent in London or rather England.”⁵⁶⁵ Gayangos hoped to buy through Ford works by Antonio Salas Barbadillo (1591-1653), author of *La Hija de Celestina* (1612), a transcription of picaresque scenes reprinted under the title of *La Ingeniosa Elena*. Salas Barbadillo was known for his satirical humour, versatile invention and pointed style, and some of his character sketches had been translated into English. Gayangos also tried to purchase works by Alonso Castillo de Solorzano (1684-1684), a contemporary of Salas Barbadillo, who owed his reputation to his cynical stories,

⁵⁶³ Ford to Gayangos 9 December 1851, *ibid.* p.100

⁵⁶⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 14 Dec 1846, *ibid.*, p.75

⁵⁶⁵ Ford to Mrs. Gayangos, 2 July 1844, *ibid.*, p.36

such as *La Niña de los Embustes* (1634). Ford was determined to help, writing that he would “do what man can do & even the Gran Fernando could do no more”,⁵⁶⁶ but the task proved to be difficult. Ford continuously looked “into all the book catalogues” but reported that Spanish books seemed to “be getting rarer and rarer every day.”⁵⁶⁷ The heyday of Spanish book sales was over by the 1840s; Trade largely confined to resales of items brought to Britain in the 1820s and 1830s.⁵⁶⁸ In 1846, Ford reported more positively that he had seen announced a “grand sale of rare Spanish books, crónicas, Romanceros y Novelas” and promised to call at Sotheby’s to secure “all the Solorzanos y Barbadillos”⁵⁶⁹ Ford had also enquired at the bookseller Thomas Rodd (1796-1849), an eminent London dealer of rare books and manuscripts, but without success.⁵⁷⁰ The Spanish book sale to which Ford here referred was that of W.B.Chorley, the elder brother of the more known J.R. Chorley, whose collection is now in the British Museum.⁵⁷¹ It was “put off” until October,⁵⁷² and Ford eventually obtained the catalogue. Chorley’s sale was the most significant sale of Spanish material in the 1840s: An “ample” collection containing “1147 Spanish items”, and “rich in chronicles, romanceros, topography and the morisco of Spanish literature.”⁵⁷³ After having received Gayangos’ commission, Ford promised to “do the best for the Romanceros”. Ford attended the sale, but only obtained “a few lots for 7-14-0”. He reported that he had given Gayangos’

commission to the clerk but stood by and as you will see tried my best going beyond your prices. Rich bought many and I dare say some will reach

⁵⁶⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 8 Jan 1845, *ibid.*, p.41

⁵⁶⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 30 April 1845, *ibid.*, p.45

⁵⁶⁸ GLENDINNING, “Spanish Books in England 1800-1850”, *Transactions for the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, no 3, 1959, p.90

⁵⁶⁹ Ford to Gayangos, 22 June 1846, *ibid.*, p.60

⁵⁷⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 5 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.62.

⁵⁷¹ GLENDINNING, 1959, p.91

⁵⁷² Ford to Gayangos, 23 July 1846, *ibid.*, p.64

⁵⁷³ Ford to Gayangos, 5 September 1846, *ibid.*, p.65

Madrid. The Romancero was superb. I did my best. It fetched 24.10. I bid for 24. El hombre no puede mas. ... I will take care of the books and send them to Rich for you.⁵⁷⁴

Ford also alerted Gayangos to the sale of Canon Miguel Riego's library, the brother of the famous General Riego, though he felt it necessary to apologise for having been unable to attend the sale. He secured a sales catalogue for Gayangos,⁵⁷⁵ however going to warn his correspondent that the books were "looted... and many of the most curious will be huddled away among masses of rubbish.... The best have already been picked out and you know the poor old canon was not very choice in his copies,"⁵⁷⁶ and as if offering consolation to Gayangos, he wrote that "Riego's books were very bad imperfect copies and in wretched condition."⁵⁷⁷ Indeed Riego's most important possessions had probably been sold to private buyers by Riego in his own lifetime, to Ford and others.⁵⁷⁸ Ford was a little more successful in the fifties. In 1850, he purchased several books, including the *Historia de la Doncella Teodora*, a folkloric tale of Arabic origin.⁵⁷⁹ By 1851, he had purchased more and wrote that he would keep the "books safely" until Gayangos' arrival that summer.⁵⁸⁰

The friendship between Gayangos and Ford was one of the most productive and certainly the warmest Gayangos enjoyed with that quartet which did most to make Spain and her culture accessible to the nineteenth century English speaking world: Ford, Prescott, Ticknor and Stirling.

⁵⁷⁴ Ford to Gayangos, 27 October 1846, *ibid.*, p.72

⁵⁷⁵ Ford to Gayangos, 15 March, 30 May 1847, *ibid.*, pp.78, 81

⁵⁷⁶ Ford to Gayangos, 10 August 1847, *ibid.*, p.83

⁵⁷⁷ Ford to Gayangos, 9 January 1848, *ibid.*, p.84-5

⁵⁷⁸ GLENDINNING, 1959, p.91

⁵⁷⁹ Ford to Gayangos, 23 Dec 1850, HITCHCOCK, 1974, p.90

⁵⁸⁰ Ford to Gayangos, 27 January 1851, *ibid.*, p.92

Gayangos – a 'literary Samaritan' to other aficionados

Many years later, after Gayangos had retired from his Chair of Arabic in Madrid and moved back to London in 1871, he assisted others with lesser ambitions and lesser knowledge than Ford. Collaborations with Henry Spencer Ashbee and John Forster were minor, but illustrate Gayangos' character and his indefatigable ambition to promote Spanish studies in Britain. Ashbee (1834-1900) was without doubt Gayangos' most colourful acquaintance and of darker tastes. He was a prosperous city merchant, but with intellectual ambitions. In 1865 he had moved to Bloomsbury, perhaps to be closer to the British Museum. He collected paintings (mostly by British artist) and rare books: *erotica*, for which he had developed a taste during his travels to Paris and through his acquaintance with other collectors of erotic books both there and in Bordeaux.⁵⁸¹ In 1877, he started to produce three lists of bibliographies of *erotica* named together "*Notes on Curious and Uncommon Books*", under the name 'Pisanus Fraxi' (Ash and Bee latinised and anagrammatized into a suitable scatological form). The first part *Index Librorum Prohibitorium*⁵⁸² came out in 1877, *Centuria Librorum Absconditorum* in 1879, and the *Catena Librorum Tacendorum* in 1885. Ashbee's interest in *erotica* was half-secret: kept hidden away from his middle-class Victorian life, well regulated and ordered, married and with children. He had separate rooms at 4 Gray's Inn Square, where he probably kept his collection and met friends who shared his interests and considered Victorian codes of sexual morality the cause of unnecessary suffering and misery.

As for any dealings Gayangos had with Ashbee, he was careful to make a distinction between contact with the Ashbee family, and his involvement with

⁵⁸¹ CRAWFORD, *CR Ashbee*, 1985, p. 4

⁵⁸² *ibid.*, p.5 (entry in diary, 21 June 1875)

Ashbee's private tastes. It would appear that Gayangos was prepared to collaborate on what might be termed the pathology of Spanish erotica but not attend any gatherings at 4 Gray's Inn Square. Thus he frequented Ashbee's family home, where he attended some dinners, regularly held on Tuesdays. He also accepted Ashbee's invitation to the wedding of his daughter. Ian Gibson, Ashbee's biographer, suggested that Gayangos rekindled Ashbee's interest in Spain, and also encouraged him to explore Spanish erotica.⁵⁸³ It was probably Gayangos' discovery of a Spanish erotic novel which led to Ashbee's interest in Gayangos: Francisco Delicado's *El Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza* (Rome, 1528), one of the most famous Spanish ribald texts. This book was reedited in Madrid in 1871 and Ashbee wished to have a copy of it. Gayangos had found it difficult to find a copy, writing to Ashbee in 1876:

Dear Sir,

After more trouble and loss of time than you can imagine I have at last been able to process *La Lozana Andaluza* which goes today by post. The bookseller who offered me one last year sold it, as he tells me, to a collector of this kind of book who lives in Paris.⁵⁸⁴

It is interesting to note that Gayangos avoided the term 'collector of erotica' or 'erotic literature', choosing instead the slightly arm-length phrase: "this kind of book", which suggests slight embarrassment, if not dislike of such taste. Gayangos further stated that the bookseller had more literature of "this kind", the "*Segunda Celestina* and *La Selvagia*, which he offers at the same price namely 16/each."⁵⁸⁵ Gayangos announced that he intended to leave Madrid for Paris and London at the end of the month and hoped to meet Ashbee there.

⁵⁸³ GIBSON, *The Erotomaniac, The Secret Life of H.S. Ashbee*, 2001, p. 65

⁵⁸⁴ Gayangos to Ashbee, 24 April 1876. BL, The letter is attached to the copy of Delicado's *La Lozana Andaluza*, which belonged to Ashbee

⁵⁸⁵ *Idem*.

About ten years later, Gayangos also helped Ashbee to prepare his 'Tunisian Diaries' from his travels in North Africa. The final work consisted of some fifty phototypes, heliogravures and woodcuts prepared by the architect Alexander Graham: Ashbee's journal and Graham's account of his 1885 visit to La Calle, El Kef and Chemtou. It also contained a glossary of Arabic terms. What might seem a genuine travel account, was in reality a treatise on sex.⁵⁸⁶ A series of short letters show that Ashbee consulted Gayangos in relation to the glossary of Arabic terms which he wished to attach to the book. Ashbee had given Gayangos a list of terms, to which Gayangos replied rather formally:

Dear Mr. Ashbee,

As it is evident to me that the enclosed list has been taken from a French book, I have carefully suppressed all letters o before u, as their sound is analogous to that of ou or u in English. There are still those awful letters Dj, which French writers use to express the sound of the arabic ..., English oriental scholars employ the J as in Jupiter, just, If you wish that your vocabulary may have the appearance of one made by an Englishman you must have the whole of it changed and remodelled.

Yours truly P. de Gayangos⁵⁸⁷

Another time Ashbee wished to discuss with Gayangos the glossary again. He felt confused as he had received criticism from a French friend, which Gayangos firmly dismissed. He invited Ashbee to come to see him in the British Library, where he would find him "on the Wednesday, Thursday and even Friday morning from 10 to 2 p.m. After that hour in my rooms till 5". He indicated that he would be "ready of course to discuss your correspondents objections to the glossary." Gayangos did not agree with these objections and set Ashbee straight on the matter:

Begging your friend's pardon I do not hesitate to say that these objections can be disposed of in a very few words for he seems to have an imperfect knowledge of the Arabic language, and none at all the Spanish, otherwise he

⁵⁸⁶ GIBSON, I., 2001, p.122

⁵⁸⁷ Gayangos to Ashbee, 13 November 1886, BL, Add. 38808 C, f 15

would not have paved his pen over the Spanish words at the end of each article, as if there were so many variations of the arabic⁵⁸⁸

It is interesting that Gayangos did not mention anything about the purpose of the glossary or the nature of Ashbee's book. Gayangos' letters to Ashbee were short and limited to linguistical technicalities. This is different from his correspondence with others, like Ford, Prescott, Ticknor and Stirling, where Gayangos was much wordier. Perhaps Gayangos judged that being discreet was the best manner to respond to Ashbee's enquiries regarding erotic material, which was not to be made public. It is difficult to assess what Gayangos thought of Ashbee's activities and his clique of erotomaniacs. Gayangos had met one of them many years before, but in an academic context. This was the explorer Richard Burton, whom Gayangos helped with his Arabic studies in Oxford in 1840. There is no evidence that Gayangos kept in touch with Burton, whose interest in Oriental studies was entirely different from Gayangos': Burton, together with his fellow Orientalist Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot set up the curious Kama-Shastra Society, whose aim was to translate, annotate and publish sex manuals of the Orient. It seems that Gayangos was not at all involved in such activities.

Gayangos further encouraged Henry Spencer Ashbee's interest in Cervantes. Ashbee later acknowledged that Gayangos had afforded him "great assistance" in around 1877 at the outset of his studies Spanish literature.⁵⁸⁹ In 1885, Ashbee set about assembling the largest collection of Cervantic literature outside Spain. Here interest was characterised by obsession with cataloguing, classifying and listing. In 1895 Ashbee brought out *Iconography of Don Quixote 1605-1895* - a record of every

⁵⁸⁸ Gayangos to Ashbee, 5 September, 1887, *ibid.*, f.26

⁵⁸⁹ GIBSON, 2001, p.135

known illustration of this work. He had further projects: a dictionary of all books in which Don Quixote was mentioned; a bibliography of every piece of printed matter in French by an Englishman,⁵⁹⁰ however these never materialised. In 1893, Ashbee lectured on *The Iconography of Don Quixote* at the Bibliographical Society of London. In the chair sat Pascual de Gayangos, perhaps relieved having inspired Ashbee to become interested in a more decent subject.

Gayangos was certainly more enthused by the literary endeavours of John Forster (Esq., M.P. for Berwick 1852-1857). Forster wished to translate the chronicle dictated or written in Catalan at various stages by James I, King of Aragon. The idea sprang from a conversation held in the Athenaeum Club in August 1875. Forster possessed a copy of the rare edition of 1557, together with a more modern Castilian version, and had consulted secondary literature on the subject, such as Toutoulon's *Etudes sur la maison de Barcelone* (1863). Forster, like many British intellectuals, was most interested in the Spanish middle ages, and the *Cortes*. He stated that he had been "charmed with the perusal of the Chronicle" and had decided to translate and edit it. But there were difficulties: the Catalan was antiquated and difficult to understand; the Castilian version full of blunders and "obscure words, perhaps derived from the Arabic". Forster could only overcome these linguistic problems with the help of Gayangos. In addition, he realised that Gayangos' expertise on Spanish culture was required to solve questions of authorship and composition. Forster admitted that "of the Spanish Arabs" he knew "nothing" and asked Gayangos to help. Gayangos replied with his usual generosity:

⁵⁹⁰ CRAWFORD, 1985, p.6

Such a request on the part of a friend, whose acquaintance I had made many years before, and with whom I had been on familiar terms and correspondence ever since, could not well be declined.⁵⁹¹

Forster's undertaking matched Gayangos' own historical interests in the Spanish middle ages. Gayangos thought that it was "one of the most remarkable historical productions of the thirteenth century".⁵⁹² It was indeed the first self-chronicle of a Christian king, and also a good example of autobiography, which expresses concepts of power and purpose of the monarchy, examples of loyalty and treachery in the feudal order, the growth of national sentiment, and medieval military tactics. Forster, apart from consulting Gayangos on linguistic matters, also wished Gayangos to contribute an historical essay on the Moors in Spain, and a glossary of obsolete words. Unfortunately, Forster died during the undertaking. By then he had finished the translation of the text, but not the introduction on the history of Aragon. Gayangos took charge of supervising the publication in two volumes in 1883, which included his preface: "Historical Introduction", and a "Glossary" of obsolete words chiefly derived from the Arabic and notes. The full title of the book named Forster as translator, and Gayangos as the author of the historical introduction, notes, appendix, glossary, and general index. Gayangos was certainly more pleased to associate his name with Forster's than with Ashbee's wicked projects. Forster's translation and edition represented to Gayangos a perfect medium to continue to promote accurate knowledge on the Moorish dimension in medieval Spain.

⁵⁹¹ GAYANGOS, in preface to *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, 1883, p.vii.

⁵⁹² *ibid.*, preface



William Hickling Prescott (1796 -1859), at his noctograph

(reproduced in *The Literary Memoranda of William Hickling Prescott*, ed. H. Gardiner, 1961)

Chapter 5: Gayangos, 'Godfather' to Prescott

This chapter is concerned with the most outstanding nineteenth-century historian of Spain, and for that matter the most successful American historian of all time. William Hickling Prescott (plate VII) enjoyed huge prestige in his own life time, and his books continue to sell to this day. His *Conquest of Mexico* (1843), which followed *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837) proved successful on both sides of the Atlantic.⁵⁹³ Prescott's *Conquest of Peru* (1847) had the same effect, with 5000 copies sold within the first five months in America, and 2500 in England, an unusually high number, "three times the size of the usual edition of historical works in London."⁵⁹⁴ In 1856, Prescott brought out *The History of the Reign of Charles V* with new documents about the later life of Charles V, which superseded Robertson's *History of Charles V* (1770). Though Prescott's health was deteriorating at the time, he still managed to publish three volumes of his last and most monumental oeuvre *Philip II* (1855-1858). This too had immediate success although it was left unfinished at his death in 1859. Today, Prescott is still regarded as a great historian. An entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* recognises that though his work is now outdated because of subsequent research on primary material which has emerged later, his work is still "judged to be generally fair and accurate".⁵⁹⁵ His books live on as foundation stones to historical studies on Spain, and also as literature in their own right. His excellent style and presentation of material gave his narrative life, colour and vivacity. The

⁵⁹³ 5000 copies (*Conquest of Mexico*) were sold within a few months. *Life of W.H. Prescott* by George Ticknor, 1863, pp.178-9; Prescott sold the copyright for £650 to Bentley. Prescott to Gayangos, 15 Aug 1843, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.53

⁵⁹⁴ Diary, 1 March 1848, GARDINER, *Literary Memoranda of Prescott*, 1961, p.176

⁵⁹⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2002, 15th edition, vol. 9, p.682

Conquest of Mexico was re-edited in 2001. His *Ferdinand and Isabella*, though not re-published in modern times, is considered today as a starting point for all historians of early modern Spain. His *Philip II* appears in the bibliographies of standard works by leading Hispanists of our generation. When Washington Irving wrote that Prescott and his works were “shelved [...] for immortality”⁵⁹⁶ he was right. However, what is missing in the general praise of Prescott’s achievements are the contributions made by Gayangos, which, it will be argued here, are too significant to be ignored. The purpose of this chapter is to show how Gayangos played the decisive role in assuring the success of Prescott’s work by selecting and providing him with relevant documents as well as essential emotional and intellectual support. Gayangos’ impact on Prescott was much more important than Prescott’s printed acknowledgements allow. Prescott’s role as “sole” author of *Charles V* (1854) and *Philip II* (1855-8) will be challenged. Since this thesis focuses on the history of the Peninsula, we will exclude from our study the close examination of the documents which Gayangos provided for Prescott’s books on the Spanish conquests.

Gayangos’ collaboration with Prescott developed as a result of peculiar circumstances. Prescott’s achievements seem something of a miracle for he never set foot on Spanish soil and never undertook research in the European archives. This was partly due to weak health, a dislike of the hardships of travel, and little interest in adventure. As a result of an unhappy accident when he was still a student at Harvard, he became blind on one eye, and was only able to use the other intermittently. Therefore the thought of foreign travel in search of manuscripts in the

⁵⁹⁶ PENNEY, 1927, p.xiii

maze of European archives was ruled out. What seems less comprehensible though, is Prescott's lack of interest in visiting Spain whose history permanently occupied his mind. Prescott was not an explorer like his fellow American Washington Irving or the British writers on Spain: Ford, Borrow or Stirling. All these were fascinated not just by history and monuments, but also by their encounters with Spaniards. Hardship and dangers were part of the adventure. Gayangos never shunned adventure either. In 1842, he looked much forward to taking up a post as Spanish vice-consul in Tunis. He was enthused:

Tunis is the place of all others on the coast of Africa which I most wished to visit. Not only are there in its vicinity the little known ruins of Carthage ... but it was the scene of Spanish exploits during the sixteenth century and an object of the ambition of Don John of Austria. The Moriscoes expelled from Valencia and Murcia settled in Tunis and its neighborhood and spoke and read Castilian! ⁵⁹⁷

The idea of travelling in North Africa appealed to Gayangos because "living there is cheap, the climate agreeable and its inhabitants are without doubt the most civilized race in Africa. ... a Christian can travel without any risk." Ultimately, the experience would allow Gayangos to collect books relating to the history of Spain: "many important books are preserved therein the colleges and Mesquitas, or in the hands of individuals. ... I promise myself a pleasant sojourn there among my books and occupied in historical researches."⁵⁹⁸ Money was certainly not an incentive for Gayangos, for he stated that his salary would be only £150, but concluded that "added to what I have, it is more than enough to maintain me there in comfort."⁵⁹⁹

That Prescott had an entirely different attitude to travel becomes clear from a

⁵⁹⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 17 November 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.270

⁵⁹⁸ *Idem.*

⁵⁹⁹ *Idem*

comment he made when he heard of Gayangos' plan. Instead of sharing Gayangos' enthusiasm, he showed concern that the trip would be attended with "risk, and much personal privation and suffering."⁶⁰⁰ He wondered whether Gayangos could not obtain the manuscripts "without such a sacrifice" of personal "pain". Clearly then, uncertain roads in Spain, encounters with highwaymen and disagreeable Carlist rebels, nights spent in uncomfortable inns, none of this was to the taste of a fashionable Bostonian like Prescott, comfortably installed in his house at Beaconhill. Nineteenth-century Spain did not appeal to Prescott for his real interest was in the Golden Age. Interestingly enough, he declared upon reading Ford's *Handbook* how he felt the book was so rich that it would save him "the trouble of a voyage to Spain."⁶⁰¹ Prescott engaged with Spain through visual and textual material he received, and as we shall see, much of this came from Gayangos. To him, Prescott once wrote: "I almost feel as if I were a Spaniard – but then it is a Spaniard of the 16th century – mind ye – of the good old times of the Inquisition!"⁶⁰² Upon the receipt of copies of portraits of Ferdinand, Isabella, Ximenes, Gonsalvo de Cordoba and Cortés, Prescott felt himself "transported to the glorious land of chivalry."⁶⁰³ Whilst working on manuscripts, Prescott said that it was "a rich treat indeed to hold in one's hands the identical letters of the mighty dead, with whom I have conversed so much in spirit."⁶⁰⁴ In addition, the conversations with Ford, Lockhart and Stirling during his sojourn in England in 1850, further nurtured his imagination about Spain. Prescott's experience of Spain was confined to books, manuscripts, images and

⁶⁰⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 October 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.266

⁶⁰¹ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 September 1845, *ibid.*, p.553

⁶⁰² Prescott to Gayangos, 9 October 1846, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.64

⁶⁰³ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 November 1840, GARDINER, 1964, p.169

⁶⁰⁴ PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.42

conversations, and perhaps allowed him to preserve the sixteenth-century image unsullied by modernity.

As a result of geographical immobility, Prescott found himself challenged to an unusual degree with regard to his historical investigations in Europe. What would seem to any scholar today a colossal problem was something which Prescott solved with great resourcefulness: his outgoing temperament, a capacity to manipulate and flatter, but above all great personal wealth allowed him to delegate the task of research to diplomats. In Spain, the Arthur Middleton, the Minister Alexander H. Everette, Washington Irving and Consul Alexander Burton were his aides, finding materials and copyists, and shipping transcripts.⁶⁰⁵ In Berlin, Prescott relied on Minister Henry Wheaton and Secretary of Legation Theodore S. Fay. Obadiah Rich, former consul in Valencia, bibliophile and bookseller, was of such importance that Prescott designated him a "sort of god-father" to his first book.⁶⁰⁶ Prescott also relied on scholars, such as the great Spanish scholar Martín Fernandez de Navarrete who helped Prescott with suggestions, his personal manuscripts and access to materials on the Spanish conquests. In Germany, Alexander von Humboldt, and Leopold van Ranke opened archives for Prescott. The Marquis Gino Capponi, Henri Ternaux Compans and the Count Adolphe de Circourt in France, Richard Ford in England were all of some help to Prescott. Amongst all of Prescott's aides, I shall argue that Gayangos was the most persistent, significant and extraordinary. Gayangos had a passion for the subject, a curiosity and an energy which enabled him to master archives all over Europe, regardless of the difficulties. In short, Gayangos was a perfect complement for Prescott.

⁶⁰⁵ HARVEY GARDINER, 1959, pp.81-2, and WOLCOTT, 1925, preface, p. 3

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.82

Ticknor was the first who drew attention to the importance of Gayangos' archival labours in his *Life of Prescott* (1864):

He [Gayangos] at once caused above eighteen hundred pages of manuscript to be copied in the British Museum and the State Paper Office, London, and went with an assistant, to the remarkable collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, in Worcestershire, where he again obtained much that proved valuable. Subsequently he visited Brussels, and ... was permitted to take copies of whatever could be found in the archives there. Still later, he went to Paris, and ... discovered other rich materials, which were immediately transcribed and sent to their destination. The mass of manuscripts was, therefore, in 1842, already considerable.⁶⁰⁷

The idea of Gayangos as Prescott's most indispensable assistant was developed by Harvey Gardiner in an article published in 1959. From this it is clear that Gayangos' help was of a much more inspired, eager and pro-active character than that of anyone else; exceeding the role of copyist or dealer. Gayangos, a scholar with an international reputation, was of an altogether different calibre than diplomats and book-dealers who also assisted Prescott. Gardiner concluded that Gayangos encouraged, inspired and influenced Prescott to such an extent that Prescott could not have written his works without him. Gardiner then went on to criticise Prescott, stating that such official acknowledgements as were made by Prescott, "reeked of understatement". It is my contention that Gardiner in his important article was essentially right. It is my contribution to reinforce such a line of argument with further evidence. I will then offer a fresh angle of approach to the working partnership between Gayangos and Prescott. For example, Gardiner's portrayal of Gayangos as an intellectual who sacrificed himself for Prescott needs readjusting, because it will be made clear that Gayangos also had ambitions of his own. Gardiner

⁶⁰⁷ TICKNOR, 1864, p.287

said very little about Gayangos and did not attempt to understand why Gayangos put himself in the position of assisting Prescott. In the light of the emergence new primary sources, Gardiner's article is now outdated and this relationship has to be re-assessed.

The positive review given by Gayangos to the *Ferdinand and Isabella* prompted Prescott to contact Gayangos in 1839 for the first time. We shall now consider how that initial contact turned into the close collaboration, which allowed Prescott to go on to further literary triumphs with his *Philip II* and *Charles V*. Prescott knew that Gayangos had manuscripts relevant to Hernandez Gonzalvo de Cordoba, surnamed the Great Captain (1453-1515), who distinguished himself under Charles V. Prescott wrote:

I should be very glad to avail myself of any original and authentic documents for the illustration of the work, which I am most anxious to place on the surest basis of historic accuracy.⁶⁰⁸

A little later, (Gayangos had still not replied), Prescott wrote again asking for material from Gayangos' collection: specifying that all the expenses would be paid through his friend, the historian and biographer of George Washington, Jared Sparks (1789-1866),⁶⁰⁹ then in London. At that stage Prescott did not expect Gayangos to make the selection and the copies himself:

I shall be glad if you can get someone to select and copy from the correspondence of Gonsalvo and the Catholic Kings.⁶¹⁰

Gayangos' long visit to Oxford and a subsequent illness had prevented him from replying, but when he finally did, he demonstrated huge enthusiasm and delight:

⁶⁰⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 July 1839, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.6

⁶⁰⁹ SPARKS, *Life and Writings of George Washington*, 1837-1842

⁶¹⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 20 June 1840, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.8

“Nothing could be so gratifying to me as to enter into a correspondence with the author of *Ferdinand and Isabella*.”⁶¹¹ At the same time, Gayangos adopted a very humble and courteous manner, explaining that he had long wanted to write to Prescott, since he had first read *Ferdinand and Isabella*, but that “the formality of English manners and the fear of being an intruder” had made him desist from doing so.⁶¹² Thus Gayangos displayed a rather timid attitude, putting himself in a submissive and inferior position, which may have flattered Prescott. Gayangos further explained to Prescott that Ticknor and Sumner had encouraged him to write to Prescott, but when Gayangos finally was “on the point of breaking the rules of English bienséance and addressing you on the subject”, Prescott had already sent a letter to him via Holland House.⁶¹³ Gayangos’ offered to have copies made of his manuscripts and ended by praising Prescott’s book:

Nothing could have been more satisfactory to me than to become acquainted with a gentleman whose literary pursuits have so well illustrated the most brilliant period of the history of my country... Excuse me if I felicitate you upon the manner in which your arduous task has been executed, and if I say, from the bottom of my heart, that I am at a loss what to admire most in your work, whether your exquisite erudition and extensive reading, or your profound philosophy, - or that most difficult as well as most rare quality in an historian – freedom from all political as well as religious bias.⁶¹⁴

It is clear that Gayangos, then only 30 years old, was impressionable. Correspondence with Prescott was a true honour, and the idea of becoming associated with such a successful author was certainly intoxicating for any young scholar. But all the more so for a young Spaniard, who like Blanco White,⁶¹⁵ often

⁶¹¹ Gayangos to Prescott, 1 December 1839, GARDINER, 1964, p. 149

⁶¹² *Ibid.*

⁶¹³ Gayangos to Prescott, 1 December 1839, GARDINER, 1964, p. 149

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151

⁶¹⁵ See GOYTISOLO, *Blanco White. Obra Inglesa*, 1974, pp.1-101 *passim*

felt deeply embarrassed about the state of intellectual life in Spain.⁶¹⁶ Thus it was understandable that he would do his best to accommodate Prescott.

Gayangos' inhibited attitude was a state of mind which contrasted with that of Prescott's, who never suffered from shyness. Prescott always put his requests in a polite but direct way, whereas Gayangos, at this stage in awe of Prescott, hardly refused anything. His attitude towards Prescott and his embarrassment about the state of Spanish scholarship never really changed and is central to understanding that relationship. For example, whilst he was planning his trip to Tunis, he wrote to Prescott to say how important it was to stay in touch with him:

Before fixing the date of my departure I shall let you know, because it will be of no little importance to me in my future exile to have notices from a friend whom I esteem and value, and whose labours are destined to enhance the lustre and glories of my degenerate country.⁶¹⁷

Gayangos' admiration for Prescott also explains why he did his utmost to promote a translation of *Ferdinand and Isabella* for a Spanish readership.⁶¹⁸ In 1843, after three full years of labour and friendship with Prescott, Gayangos announced that he wished to have a copy made of a portrait of Prescott, which he had seen at the house of Calderón de la Barca in Madrid.⁶¹⁹ Whether he ever did is not known.⁶²⁰ Though Gayangos' respect for Prescott did not change, we will see later how he became less awe-struck after a few months of correspondence, and how, for his part, Prescott's admiration and respect for Gayangos' scholarship and research increased.

⁶¹⁶ E.g. Gayangos warned that *Ferdinand and Isabella* would not be successful in Spain: "I am ashamed to say so, but Spain is sure to be the last country in Europe where it will receive the appreciation which it merits so fully." Gayangos to Prescott, 22 August 1841, WOLCOTT, p. 243

⁶¹⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 22 September 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.256

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 397, 406, 509, 524, 527, 529, 546, 563: on Sabau's translation; Gayangos persuaded a Spanish editor to publish it in Spain.

⁶¹⁹ Gayangos to Prescott, 10 Oct 1843, *ibid.*, p.397

⁶²⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 August 1845, *ibid.*, p.551. "I have had a marble bust made of him [Irving] to adorn my rooms, being a copy of one made of him by... Hughes. It is spirited and a good copy of his handsome, intellectual countenance."

Gayangos was also motivated by a genuine desire to do something useful with the manuscripts in his collection, which he had acquired in Saragossa in the mid-1830s after the dissolution of the monasteries. He believed that the correspondence of Gonzalvo of Cordoba and Ferdinand, would “throw much light upon the history of the Italian wars, as well as upon the personal character of Gonzalvo.” One might wonder then why Gayangos did not use his own manuscripts to compose a history of that period himself. To most scholars today, it seems curious that someone with such talent and material at hand did not do so, rather than giving it all away. But what appears to be excessive altruism can be explained: In 1836 Gayangos had considered publishing an early Spanish history by Andrés Bernaldez, together with illustrations and notes, and the letters of Gonzalvo de Cordoba:

I had some intention of publishing the *Crónica de Bernaldez*, with a few illustrations and notes upon the last wars of Granada, intending further to give as an Appendix my letters of the Great Captain.⁶²¹

However, the idea was abandoned for two reasons: first, Gayangos had found “no publisher in London who would undertake printing the work at his own expense”, and secondly, the publication of Prescott’s *Ferdinand and Isabella* had given Gayangos’ project “the death-blow.”⁶²² These statements are extremely interesting for they show that Gayangos had a serious interest in the non-Moorish history of Spain before his acquaintance with Prescott. His initial generosity towards Prescott was instigated by the scholarly desire to make the best use of important historical material. Because Gayangos himself was unable to use or edit the manuscripts, he could think of no better alternative, but to give it to someone who had entered the

⁶²¹ Gayangos to Prescott, 1 December 1839, GARDINER, 1964, p. 149-150

⁶²² *Ibid.*, p. 150

field first. Lord Holland could have helped Gayangos in financing the publication of these papers. However, the timing was not right. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* was published, when Gayangos just had become acquainted with Lord Holland.

Gayangos' relationship with Prescott did not start from admiration only, but also from disinterested scholarship and a pride in his country despite the negligible state of Spanish letters at that time. In his very first letter, Gayangos gave a detailed account of the nature of his collection of manuscripts, thus showing Prescott his credentials as a scholar qualified in the subject. He suggested that these papers were of great value. The problem lay in the difficult task of deciphering the letters of the Great Captain, something which could not be accomplished by a common scribe, since the hero "knew how to wield the sword better than the pen" but was "very little of a grammarian" and often introduced French and Italian words whenever the Spanish equivalent did not come to his mind.⁶²³ Gayangos had enclosed a copy of an extract of a letter of the Great Captain as a sample, so that Prescott could form his own opinion of the matter. Gayangos then proposed to send Prescott an entire transcript of Gonzalvo's correspondence and a full index *raisonné* of all the documents respecting Ferdinand's reign. Prescott was impressed both by his generosity and his collection:

You have indeed got a rich mine of historical documents, and when I read the contents of the volumes I must confess it gave me rather a twinge to think I should have done my work without ever having seen them.

However, on second thoughts, Prescott believed that they might "give a different complexion to a few incidents, and furnish some interesting details", but that "the

⁶²³ Gayangos to Prescott, 1 December 1839, GARDINER, 1964, p. 151

general current of fact ... would not probably be much disturbed.”⁶²⁴ He was delighted by an offer to transcribe the correspondence of the Great Captain for an appendix or in the footnotes. By 12 October 1840, during a month’s residence on the Isle of Wright, Gayangos had completed part of the index and transcribed “about one half of the letters of the Great Captain”, which he then sent via Obadiah Rich, together with a copy of his own *Mohammedan Dynasties*.⁶²⁵ Prescott liked what he saw. He commented favourably on Gayangos’ own book. By November 1840 Prescott had received the “sheets containing part of the Index”,⁶²⁶ and still wished to see the whole index and select some papers to be copied. A few months later he specified that he had found a few which he was very desirous to have”.⁶²⁷ Finally, by February 1841, he informed Gayangos that he intended to alter the text of *Ferdinand and Isabella*. Gayangos’ manuscripts and his “great work on the Mohammedan Dynasties” would be useful for a new edition. Confronted with all that Gayangos now had to offer, Prescott admitted that he had “come before the public too soon.”⁶²⁸ In August 1841, Gayangos sent the last transcripts of the “letters of the Great Captain and other papers enclosed with them bearing on the life of that hero.”⁶²⁹ At the same time, he announced further treasures to come:

I shall later send you copies of certain letters of Catherine of Aragon to her father the Catholic King, which throw no little light on the history of the period, they describe the secret negotiations between Ferdinand and Henry VIII relating to France, and supply valuable details on the private life and character of both kings. I also own some letters of Don Juan and Doña Catalina, the last sovereigns of Navarre, to King Ferdinand, which I shall have copied if necessary.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁴ Prescott to Gayangos, 4 April, 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.118

⁶²⁵ Gayangos to Prescott, 12 October 1840, *ibid.*, p.163

⁶²⁶ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 Nov 1840, GARDINER, 1964, p. 168

⁶²⁷ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 Feb 1841, PENNEY, 1927, p.29

⁶²⁸ *Idem.*

⁶²⁹ Gayangos to Prescott, 22 Aug 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.243

⁶³⁰ *Idem.*

By mid-September 1841, Prescott had taken references and notes from Gayangos' transcripts for the next edition of his book, finding "many of the letters ... of much interest".⁶³¹

Gayangos' assistance did not end merely with the provision of manuscripts, but included an interpretative role. Gayangos helped Prescott understand his material. Many of the letters of the Great Captain were "without date or the names of the places whereat they were written", but Gayangos attributed dates and arranged them in a chronological order. Gayangos himself, not an amanuensis, deciphered the letters before giving them to a copyist to make transcripts.⁶³² Prescott found the attributed dates correct and of "great help,"⁶³³ fully recognising the difficulty of decipherment, a task made all the more challenging because of the "often confused nature of the content."⁶³⁴ In short, Gayangos guided Prescott through his collection, by drawing attention to what he thought especially valuable. Prescott wrote:

I am extremely obliged by your noting down the extracts of curious passages from the miscellaneous correspondence registered in your index. This way saves me much useless matter, but must increase your labour.⁶³⁵

Over time, Gayangos became bolder, criticising when necessary. He disliked the portrait of Isabella Prescott had chosen and induced him to look for another.⁶³⁶

Gradually Gayangos was turning into a teacher or supervisor to Prescott.

⁶³¹ Prescott to Gayangos, 14 Sept 1841, PENNEY, 1927, pp.34-5

⁶³² Gayangos to Prescott, 15 October 1840, WOLCOTT, p.165 "the letters ... are couched in so obscure and laconic a style that it is a matter of some difficulty to find out what they treat of, most of them.. are without date or the names of the places whereat they were written, so that it was a long time before I could arrange them in a chronological order. This, however, I flatter myself, I have at last obtained.

⁶³³ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 February 1841, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927., p.26

⁶³⁴ Letters were "more confused and difficult to comprehend than usual, which must have added to the difficulty of your deciphering..." Prescott to Gayangos, 14 Sept 1841, *ibid.*, pp.34-5

⁶³⁵ *Idem.*

But then was *Ferdinand and Isabella* really improved by his intervention? Prescott seriously considered changes to *Ferdinand and Isabella* as a result of having received Gayangos' material several years after the initial appearance of the book (1837). This, at the very least, bespeaks both the quantity and the quality of information from Gayangos, who was certainly pleased when Prescott wrote that following his study of Gayangos' own manuscripts, he had made some emendations and written a new preface for the third English edition, which was to include an acknowledgement of Gayangos' help. In his preface, Prescott promoted Gayangos as a "learned scholar", whose *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, was:

a work, which from its thorough investigation of original sources, and its fine spirit of criticism, must supply, what has been so long felt to be a desideratum with the student, - the means of forming a perfect acquaintance with the Arabian portion of the Peninsular annals.

He then went on to acknowledge the value of the manuscripts that Gayangos had put at his disposal.

a rich collection of original documents, [...] the autograph correspondence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of the principal persons of their court. It formed, probably, part of the library of Geronimo Zurita, historiographer of Aragon, under Philip II, who, ... , was entrusted with whatever documents would illustrate the history of the country. This rare collection was left at his death to a monastery in his native city. Although Zurita is one of the principal authorities for the present work, there are many details of interest in this correspondence, which have passed unnoticed by him, even when forming the basis of his conclusions.

Prescott further singled out Gayangos' "great kindness", and his ability to decipher the manuscripts:

⁶³⁶"In looking at the portrait of Isabella in the American edition of your work I cannot help thinking that either the original was a bad one, or the engraver unskilful. I recollect having seen the original portrait of Isabella by Rincon, which was preserved in the Cartuxa de Miraflores near Burgos, and I assure you that yours is not at all like it. A friend of mine, Mr. Mark... has lately shown me one he has... and which I have identified to be the same as that of the Cartuxa - and he has been kind enough to give me a sketch of it." Gayangos to Prescott, 12 October 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.164

The difficulties attending this labour of love will be better appreciated, when it is understood that the original writing is in an antiquated character, which few Spanish scholars of the present day could comprehend, and often in cipher, which requires much patience and ingenuity to explain.⁶³⁷

Though the preface is full of praise of Gayangos, subsequently Prescott did not allude to the ways Gayangos had helped him to comprehend the manuscripts, and how Gayangos had guided him through the collection.

Despite the announcement of new material in the preface, Prescott did not alter the text radically, partly because he had invested in stereotype plates for the book. Large alterations could only be done with considerable difficulty and cost.⁶³⁸ The main reason however was that by 1840 Prescott was already immersed in his *Conquest of Mexico* (1843) and conceived himself as having little time for improvement of his first edition. Temperamentally Prescott, though a fine scholar and a talented writer, was a man who was disinclined to retrace his steps. Though in February 1841, he announced that he wished to improve his *Ferdinand and Isabella*,⁶³⁹ he still had not finished the examination of Gayangos' manuscript collection in December 1841. He stopped working on them till he could "reach a good breathing place in my present labours." By January 1842, he had "glanced over Gayangos' manuscripts" and concluded that they would enable him to furnish autographs of Ferdinand Garcilasso, Joanna, Charles V, Princess Isabella, Henry IV, Ferdinand and Alfonso of Naples, Prospero Coloma, Manuel of Portugal, A.N.Talavera, A.B. Carillo."⁶⁴⁰ These are indeed included in the third edition of

⁶³⁷ PRESCOTT, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, 3rd edition, 1843, preface

⁶³⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 4 April 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.119

⁶³⁹ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 Feb 1841, PENNEY, 1927, p.29

⁶⁴⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 1 January 1842, *ibid.*, p.43

Ferdinand and Isabella, however, whilst they added an antiquarian touch, they did nothing to improve the historical text. Prescott also added a note regarding the *Anales* of Zurita, indicating that this was a principal source for the Italian Wars.⁶⁴¹ His footnotes are vague, lacking precise references to certain letters, which might have come from Gayangos' collection. Prescott praised the *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* by Gayangos, and yet he did not use it in his new edition. Instead he relied on the discredited *Historia de la Dominación Árabe* by Conde (1824), to which he continued to refer as he had done in the first edition. Perhaps Gayangos was disappointed. Many years later, in 1846, he reported that some new material had emerged with regards to *Ferdinand and Isabella*. He argued that "there is room for great improvement in the historical part of your chapter dealing with the ascendancy of Alboacen or Abu-l-hasan."⁶⁴² Perhaps this was Gayangos' last attempt to stimulate Prescott in revising his first important work in a more serious manner, but it did not work.

Before looking at *Philip II* and *Charles V*, it is perhaps the moment to consider Gayangos' motives for getting involved with a writer whose reluctance to take advice and make amendments may have been a source of frustration. Why did Gayangos continue his close relationship with Prescott? Was money an incentive? When Prescott tried to remunerate Gayangos for copies he had made from his own collection, he refused.⁶⁴³ Prescott then made further attempts at payment through

⁶⁴¹ PRESCOTT, 1842, [3rd edition], vol 2, pp. 270-272

⁶⁴² GARDINER, 1959, p.109

⁶⁴³ "I delicately hinted to Gayangos that you would expect to remunerate him.... He took it in good part, but promptly replied, that he should receive nothing more than should be paid to the copyists. I would remark, however, that what he does in this matter requires time, and is laborious. The handwriting of some of the letters which he is decyphering for you is absolutely frightful to behold,

contacts in London. He felt under great obligations to Gayangos, but the latter still refused:

I see that you expect to pay the expense that you suppose I have sustained for the copies of the documents which I have sent you on different occasions. I heartily beg you to give up any such idea. ... If I believed that what I had done for you merited compensation I should not hesitate to tell you so, since I am a poor man of letters who lives by his pen and I must work hard to support my family.⁶⁴⁴

This attitude slightly changed when Gayangos' own publisher Knight went bankrupt, and put Gayangos in a difficult situation. These unfortunate circumstances together with the urgent need for money to pay for his planned journey to Tunis eventually led Gayangos to accept payment for copying, and a little later to accept a loan from Prescott.⁶⁴⁵ Prescott was pleased with this and wrote:

With regard to the little sum you have in consequence, as you say, allowed Mr. Rich to pay you, I am very glad you have done so, and hope you will not hesitate to call for the balance, when you desire. Be assured I not consider it as lending you anything, but as a money debt from me to you, which still leaves me your debtor in another, and much more important way, a debt of kindness, which I fear I cannot repay. Will you allow me to add ... that if the loan of 50 or 100£ can be any accommodation to you, you have only to let me know it.⁶⁴⁶

Prescott further insisted that the loan should never be repaid. Now that money had entered their relationship, Gayangos started to feel obliged to Prescott. This is clear when Gayangos wrote:

I am going to Spain, and I hope that in the archives of Simancas I shall find enough to repay you amply for the considerable sums that I have spent on your account.⁶⁴⁷

and the fishing out of the papers among the twenty five thousand volumes of manuscripts in the British Museum is no easy task. But after what he said I think you cannot offer him money." Sparks to Prescott, 19 October 1840, *ibid.*, p.171

⁶⁴⁴ Gayangos to Prescott, 22 August 1841, *ibid.*, p. 244

⁶⁴⁵ Gayangos to Prescott, 17 Nov. 1841, *ibid.*, p.270. "...my imminent journey to Tunis, and the necessary expenses for getting my family there oblige me to accept your offer of a loan."

⁶⁴⁶ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 October 1841, GARDINER, 1964, p.177

⁶⁴⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, Paris, July 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.357



Titian, *Emperor Charles V*, 1548,
Oil on canvas, Alte Pinakothek, Munich

Once payments began to be made, their relationship became one of interdependence. However, it should be remembered that money was *not* what drew Gayangos to Prescott. Correspondence contains details of payment for expenses on books, copies, copyists, and travelling, for which Gayangos duly submitted account sheets. However, he never expected to be paid for his time. On occasions, Gayangos even paid for material himself, advancing the money and telling Prescott that he owed him 85 \$.⁶⁴⁸ In short, money was a low priority, coming after scholarship, passion for the history of his native country, and ultimately, his wish to stay in touch with Anglo-American scholarship he so admired.

Contributions to Philip II and Charles V

We now turn to the *Charles V* and *Philip II*, both published after more than a decade of collaboration. Whilst Gayangos' influence on *Ferdinand and Isabella* did not really materialise, Prescott's work on the reigns of Charles V and Philip II (plates VIII, IX) was substantially influenced by Gayangos. Here we shall consider different aspects of assistance: first, the scope of research by Gayangos in archives; we then turn to intellectual contributions to the works and the methodology Prescott employed in them. The analysis will then end with an assessment of the material Gayangos discovered and obtained. It will be argued that without Gayangos, Prescott would not have written his histories of Philip II and Charles V.

Between 1840 and 1843, Gayangos made extensive researches in the British Museum, Holland House, and the library of Thomas Phillipps. By Christmas 1841, Gayangos had made an index of all the documents at the British Museum, four

⁶⁴⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 8 December 1853, PENNEY, 1927, p.114



Antonis Mor, *Philip II*, c.1557, Escorial

copyists were placed there, whilst he himself was surveying and composing a catalogue of the materials in the Cotton collection, “noting in the margin the number of the manuscript and the folio or folios in which the document appears, so that if I have overlooked any interesting piece... you may know where to find it and may have it copied.” By 1843 Gayangos had “caused above eighteen hundred pages of manuscript to be copied in the British Museum and the State Paper Office”⁶⁴⁹ It can therefore be assumed that nearly all the manuscripts, which Prescott indicated in his footnotes coming from the British Museum or the State Paper Office, if not indicated otherwise, came from him. By the end of 1841, Gayangos also agreed to run a research campaign for Prescott not only in London but also on the continent. Prescott was delighted noting in his diary in December 1841:

I have had the satisfaction to learn from that accomplished scholar, Gayangos, that he will undertake the collection of manuscripts for me relating to Philip the Second’s history, so far as it can be effected in Paris and London.⁶⁵⁰

Gayangos left for the continent in spring 1843, passing through Brussels, The Hague, Leyden, Besançon and Paris on his way to Madrid, where he was officially appointed Professor of Arabic at the University by the end of the summer. Now Gayangos’ help became all the more significant, as Wilhelm Lembke, who had collated and copied manuscripts in Madrid for Prescott’s Conquest studies, and had promised to “look up the Philip 2d documents” in Madrid and in Paris,⁶⁵¹ had become unreliable. He had not communicated with Prescott for some time and by March 1842 Prescott stated

⁶⁴⁹ TICKNOR, 1864, p.287

⁶⁵⁰ TICKNOR, 1864, p.286, n.6

⁶⁵¹ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 Feb 1841, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927 p.31

that he had only “heard of – not from Lembke – as in Paris – I don’t know what to make of him. He got into trouble at Madrid.”⁶⁵²

Research had been carefully prepared while Gayangos had still been busy in London. Prescott was eager to tell Gayangos what he knew of potentially interesting manuscripts, mostly through his diplomatic contacts in Europe, and the consultation of the *History of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe* (1835), by Friedrich van Raumer (1781-1873; professor at Breslau, then Berlin). Prescott had heard through Van der Weyer, the Belgian Ambassador in London, that there were valuable manuscripts in Brussels. Unaware that Gayangos knew Van der Weyer personally, he told Gayangos to speak to Jared Sparks, who would introduce him.⁶⁵³ It seems that Van der Weyer wrote Gayangos letters of introduction, which “helped him get permission to take copies of whatever could be found in the archives there.”⁶⁵⁴

Prescott also brought Gayangos in contact with Everett, who had already done some ground work in Paris and told Prescott that there were Spanish papers which had been transferred from Simancas in Bonaparte’s time, and never been returned. Everett, now again in London, was too busy to pursue any more tasks for Prescott in Paris. Though Gayangos already “knew that there was much excellent material”⁶⁵⁵, Prescott now wished Everett to inform Gayangos in detail about all this.⁶⁵⁶ Gayangos did not meet Everett until April 1842, when Everett reported to Prescott:

After playing bo-peep with that gentleman all winter, I requested him to give me the favour of his company at breakfast today. I had Mr. Hallam and Lord

⁶⁵² Prescott to Gayangos, 1 March 1842, *ibid.*, p.45

⁶⁵³ Prescott to Gayangos, 31 December 1841, *ibid.*, p.40

⁶⁵⁴ TICKNOR, 1864, p. 287

⁶⁵⁵ Gayangos to Prescott, 27 January 1842, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.281

⁶⁵⁶ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 March 1842, TICKNOR, 1864, p.189

Mahon, who has been in Spain, with other friends, to meet him, and found him an exceedingly pleasant, intelligent person. I hope to see more of him during the summer, which he passes here.⁶⁵⁷

Prescott certainly felt reassured by that positive comment about the character and nature of his literary collaborator, whom he was never going to meet himself. Prescott entirely trusted Gayangos' judgement and promised that he would remit the sums for copying that Gayangos "thought proper."⁶⁵⁸ It seems that Gayangos got on with Everett too, for Prescott then wrote to Gayangos:

I am glad you have seen Mr. Everett and are pleased with him. I am sure he will give you any facility in his power for getting access to the French depositories. I should suppose a line from him to Mignet would be serviceable.⁶⁵⁹

It was agreed that Gayangos would go to Paris, and "get" Prescott what was in the Paris libraries. Everett, who had already seen the documents, claimed that they would "throw new light on Philip's prodigious capacity for business and suggest that the conduct of the affairs of his mighty empire were centred in his own person."⁶⁶⁰ Furthermore, Prescott thought that Gayangos would also find the papers of Cardinal Granvelle in France, writing to Gayangos in November 1842:

I cannot but think that you will find a rich harvest relating to Philip II in Paris. Pray satisfy yourself there about the Granvelle papers. If they are not certainly to be printed, and shortly, I ought to have extracts from them. Mr. Everett may doubtless afford you facilities by his letters.⁶⁶¹

According to Ticknor, Gayangos then went to Paris, where "assisted by M. Mignet, he discovered "other rich materials, which were immediately transcribed and sent to their destination."⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.372

⁶⁵⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 October 1841, GARDINER, 1964, p.180

⁶⁵⁹ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 May 1842, TICKNOR, 1864, p.190

⁶⁶⁰ TICKNOR, 1864, p.372

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.287

⁶⁶² *Idem.*

Prescott was clearly pleased with the prospect of Gayangos continuing his research in Madrid, and encouraged him to use the services of Washington Irving, if necessary:

I am truly glad you are going to Madrid soon, ... I shall be most happy to leave the collection then all in your hands, and, while Irving is there, I am sure you can count on his services, if they can be worth anything to you to get access to any archives which may be under the control of the government.⁶⁶³

In Madrid, Gayangos' help became central. His former assistant in Spain, Wilhelm Lembke could not be relied upon any longer.⁶⁶⁴ Arthur Middleton, American minister in Madrid, had warned Prescott that Lembke had been "suspected ... of not only reporting political matters but of mixing in them."⁶⁶⁵ Middleton concluded: "I should really recommend you to look up someone else."⁶⁶⁶ Also, Prescott must have sensed that Gayangos was more available and energetic than other Spanish assistants, such as the distinguished historian Navarrete, who had supplied Prescott with documents regarding the Conquest of Mexico, and who himself had published on the subject. In 1843 Navarrete was ill and died a year later in October 1844. Quintana, Prescott's other contact, was trying to help Prescott, but too busy to do so. Prescott certainly sensed that Gayangos was also more efficient than Irving, then ambassador in Madrid, who had announced that he would like to help Prescott to collate material for his *Conquest of Peru*, but warned him that he was in bad health, and in this "dismantled state of my mind", anticipated that he would be of "but little use".⁶⁶⁷ Thus Gayangos not only became Prescott's most important assistant in Spain, but also the best ever, much superior in every way to Lembke, Navarrete and Irving.

⁶⁶³ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 May 1842, *ibid.*, p.190

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.286

⁶⁶⁵ Middleton to Prescott, 24 Nov 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.272

⁶⁶⁶ *Idem.*

⁶⁶⁷ Irving to Prescott, 15 October 1844, *Irving Letters 1839-45*, 1982, pp.821-2

Gayangos had an extraordinary will power and determination, which helped him to triumph over many difficulties. As with Simancas so too with Madrid: Problems were due to the disorder of the archives, apathy among the librarians and general lack of official support, even hostility. First letters from Madrid are full of problems encountered, but somehow, overcome. When Gayangos wanted to start research in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, he was not allowed to examine the catalogue, on the pretext that they were preparing a new one. As a result, he started his research by relying on notes taken before his move to London. Also, he was not given daily access to the library, and noted that the documents, which he wished to consult, were being copied by the clerk and therefore not accessible. Prescott deplored,⁶⁶⁸ but could not entirely comprehend all this:

But how can a government wish to exclude the light from those who are occupied with illustrating its history, necessarily compelling the historian to take partial and limited views, and that, too, of events three hundred years old?⁶⁶⁹

However, Prescott certainly felt Gayangos better qualified to cope than his former assistant, the German historian, Lembke. Gayangos, as professor of Arabic, and member of the *Academia de la Historia*, had status, in contrast to Lembke, who had somehow fallen foul of the Spanish government. Gayangos eventually obtained permission to copy manuscripts. Gayangos' acquaintance with other Spanish intellectuals of repute, such as Quintana and Navarrete, was also beneficial. With the help of Navarrete, Gayangos gained access to the "very interesting papers of the House of Alva, and of the Marquises of Villafranca and Santa Cruz."⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 November 1843, TICKNOR, 1864, p.209

⁶⁶⁹ Prescott to Gayangos, 13 Oct 1843, *ibid.* p.242

⁶⁷⁰ Gayangos to Prescott, 10 Oct 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.396

At Simancas, however, Gayangos faced immense problems with research. The archives were in great disorder and access was no easy matter. This Prescott knew through Lembke, who had already warned him in 1839 about access. Prescott noted pessimistically:

I learn that the archives of Simancas are in so disorderly a state, that it is next to impossible to gather materials for the reign of Philip II.⁶⁷¹

Gayangos heard that Louis Prosper Gachard had spent three months “with practically no results” (though, as it turned out later, this was not entirely true). However, in contrast to Lembke, Gayangos encouraged Prescott with his usual combination of enthusiasm, optimism and initiative:

In spite of all these hindrances I do not despair and am taking such steps as I think useful for the accomplishment of our desires.⁶⁷²

It seems that since the visit of Gachard to Simancas, the librarians had become more suspicious of foreigners and applied a more strict policy, apparently as a result of “some indiscretion on his [Gachard’s] part”.⁶⁷³ There is more evidence too to suggest that the general hostility was due to the fear that Gayangos and Prescott would portray sixteenth-century Spain in a negative light. Fanny Calderon de la Barca wrote from Madrid to Prescott in November 1843, that Gayangos was busy with his research, but very upset about the difficulties in copying manuscripts. The reason for this was:

They [the Spanish] have taken it into their wise heads that things will come out against Philip the 2ds’s character, which will detract from the glory of Spain! It is the most inconceivable folly!⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷¹TICKNOR, 1864, p.285

⁶⁷²Gayangos to Prescott, 10 October 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.395

⁶⁷³Gayangos to Prescott, 13 April 1844, *ibid.*, p.460

⁶⁷⁴Fanny Calderón de la Barca, 17 November 1843, *ibid.*, p.410

Prescott felt quite irritated and hurt by this behaviour, for he felt himself amongst all writers on Spain, the most sympathetic:

It will be very hard if the Spanish authorities confuse me with those unfriendly writers who employ their pens to throw a cloud over the fame of their country. I believe I may say without vanity [...] that [...] I have done as much as any foreigner of the present day to exhibit the nation in a high and honourable point of view and have constantly endeavoured to hold up its great men and the great achievements of its people to the admiration of the student of history.⁶⁷⁵

By then Prescott had full trust in Gayangos' capacities. He felt confident that once Gayangos was allowed access, he would be more successful than Gachard in finding relevant documents:

I look forward to Simancas as a place where you will find something of moment, for though the Flemish savant has failed, that does not convince me that you would.⁶⁷⁶

Gayangos totally reassured Prescott that he would do his utmost to gain access to Simancas.⁶⁷⁷ Soon after Gayangos received clearance. On 28 August 1844 Gayangos had finished his work and returned to Madrid. Given all the problems, Prescott had feared that "the tower of Simancas" would prove nothing "but an enchanted castle",⁶⁷⁸ but soon learned that Gayangos' research proved to be most fruitful. Upon receipt of Gayangos' first letter informing him not only about the difficulties of research, but also of his excellent findings, Prescott replied with enthusiasm and high expectations:

I think I may congratulate myself as well as you, on your having accomplished the object I had so much at heart [...] I revel in anticipation, in the letters of the secretary & the majordomo of the great Spanish Diocletian & in his own letters to Philip II. I think they cannot fail to afford all the light that is wanted.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁵ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 May 1844, *ibid.*, p.468

⁶⁷⁶ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 Nov. 1843, *ibid.*, p.414

⁶⁷⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 13 April 1844, *ibid.*, p.460

⁶⁷⁸ *Idem*

⁶⁷⁹ *Idem*

Gayangos' perseverance and intellectual capacity as demonstrated in his adventures at Simancas were vital to his researches in Spain. Before we turn to the more tangible side of his mission, that is to the material he actually found, we shall first consider Gayangos' influence on Prescott on a psychological level.

Inspiration and Encouragement

Gayangos was not just a provider with will power and expertise, but a true godfather to Prescott. He continuously animated the historian when he most needed it and tried to help him with study and digestion of the discovered material. Gayangos' earliest letters to Prescott gave a foretaste of Gayangos' intellectual input. This became even more important for *Philip II* and *Charles V*. What had started out as a unequal relationship in dealings over *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Gayangos the humble mouser of manuscripts, and Prescott as lion amongst historians, exactly reversed itself with the later projects. The great author of *Ferdinand and Isabella* ended up eating out of the hand of his erstwhile amanuensis.

Prescott had thought about the reign of Philip II as early as the spring of 1838 as "a fruitful theme if discussed under all its relations, civil and literary as well as military".⁶⁸⁰ He felt that there was a real need for such a history, since the most recent in the English language, by Robert Watson (1777) concentrated almost exclusively on the Spanish Netherlands. However, he was aware that the purchase of materials from the different archives in Spain and wider Europe was "no easy

⁶⁸⁰ TICKNOR, 1864, p.284

matter". It was thanks to Gayangos that he began to think more seriously about Philip II. Thus, in 1840, just a few months after Gayangos and Prescott had started to exchange letters, Prescott announced:

You will smile when I tell you that I am looking beyond this adventure... and propose to devote myself to another period of Spanish history. This is the reign of Philip II, a reign which seems to form a suitable pendant to that of Isabel, exhibiting the beginnings of decline. It has been written it is true by Watson, who has made a very interesting narrative, but he should have called it a history of the Netherlands, the greater part of which is taken from Bentivoglio."⁶⁸¹

Gayangos first cautioned Prescott that the project was "strewn with almost insurmountable difficulties" due to neglect by Spanish historians and by wilful misrepresentation by foreigners. He agreed with Prescott that Watson's books was "a very mediocre performance, unworthy of standing a parallel with Robertson's Charles V", and hinted at the fact that more material had to be found to shed light on the many obscure passages in Philip's life. Yet, he immediately praised the choice of subject matter, offered his assistance as researcher, and informed him that he had a collection of interesting manuscripts relevant to the subject. He also gave some immediate and encouraging bibliographical advice, by informing Prescott of an unpublished volume of copies collated by Tomas Gonzalez, the late librarian at Simancas, from the papers of Philip's reign. "Luckily", this volume was "likely to remain in Spain", since Gonzalez' brother, and then owner of the volume, was trying to sell it for an exorbitant price.⁶⁸² All this was encouraging. Prescott replied immediately to Gayangos' letter: "You are certainly very right in the estimate you make of the difficulties of Philip 2nd's reign as an historical subject. Some passages in it must remain more or less under a cloud. But it affords a noble range and

⁶⁸¹ Prescott to Gayangos, 4 April 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.119

⁶⁸² Gayangos to Prescott, 15 October 1840, *ibid.*, p.165

materials are abundant if they can be reached.”⁶⁸³ From then onwards, parallel to his research assistance in the British archives, Gayangos continuously animated Prescott to start with his project, and even prompted other English Hispanophiles to encourage Prescott too. For example, in 1842, Prescott received moral support from Richard Ford to undertake a history of Philip:

Our mutual friend Pascual de Gayangos has often suggested, as an almost virgin subject, the life of Philip II. The poor performance of Watson is beneath notice. What a new and noble field for you...⁶⁸⁴

Once Gayangos had started research in the British archives, he began to feel positive about the project, and motivated Prescott by implying that his new findings would make the task easier:

The more original documents I examine, the more I am convinced that there is no good history of the period, and the less difficult I consider your undertaking.⁶⁸⁵

Even when research itself proved difficult, Gayangos, did his utmost to accomplish his research mission.

In spite of all these hindrances I do not despair and am taking such steps as I think useful for the accomplishment of our desires. I have petitioned the Minister for authority to inspect the indices of the National Library and copy such documents as I desire, and I have no doubt now that I am invested with an official character, my petition will be granted....⁶⁸⁶

Such a positive attitude was an example for Prescott, who himself had to cope with failing health. Gayangos positively inspired Prescott to begin.

I have not lost hope of a good harvest, but everything in this blessed land is a question of time, as the proverbial *mañana* of the Spaniards means that what can be done in a month in London cannot be accomplished here in three.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸³ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 November 1840, *ibid.*, p.181-2

⁶⁸⁴ Ford to Prescott, 5 June 1842, TICKNOR, 1864, p.191.

⁶⁸⁵ WOLCOTT, 1925, p.307

⁶⁸⁶ Gayangos to Prescott, 10 Oct 1843, *ibid.*, p.395

⁶⁸⁷ *Idem.*

Gayangos claimed that he had time, because his new position as professor did not put him under those “imperative tasks imposed on me in England”: no longer dependent on impatient British editors with deadlines. However, five years later, Prescott had not begun writing. By now he had received a wealth of material and Gayangos sensing reluctance, almost bluntly told Prescott to commence:

Set your hand to the plough therefore and gain as many fresh laurels as you have already received for the books you have published.⁶⁸⁸

More importantly, Gayangos pushed Prescott to undertake the study of the entire reign of Philip II, not just a “fat slice” as Prescott had thought. This time he appealed to Prescott’s pride to take up the challenge: *Cuanto mas dificil la victoria, tanta más gloria alcanza el vencedor*.⁶⁸⁹ Even when Prescott had made up his mind “to serve up the whole barbecue instead of particular parts”, he had so little confidence in the strength of his vision that he thought of calling the work ‘Memoirs’, which would treat the subject “in a more desultory and superficial manner than belongs to a regular history.”⁶⁹⁰ Finally by 1849, Prescott had decided to tackle the whole subject, despite his poor health. Perhaps, with a more courageous and determined mind, mirroring Gayangos’ bold attitude to the many obstacles to research in Spain, he wrote: But if I am crippled, I am not wholly disabled yet, and I have made up my mind to take the subject – the whole subject of Philip the Second.”⁶⁹¹ Little later, on 29 July 1849, Prescott began the composition of the first chapter, still vacillating however, between writing a “memoir”, or a more ambitious “history”.⁶⁹² That he went for the more ambitious “history” is due to Gayangos. Ticknor wrote once to

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.631, Gayangos to Prescott [1846]

⁶⁸⁹ Gayangos to Prescott, 21 February 1849, MHS-P

⁶⁹⁰ TICKNOR, 1864, p.403-4

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.293

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, p.296

Gayangos: "I am very glad you have urged him in it, to continue his labours on the subject of Philip II rather than to take up any division of it."⁶⁹³ Prescott later admitted that it was due to Gayangos that he did not give up Philip II altogether:

I am obliged to you for your remonstrances against my abandoning the Philip II. As you stand godfather, you have certainly good right to speak in the matter.⁶⁹⁴

Gayangos continuously encouraged Prescott to use more material. To read more, to examine more, to use more facts to back up his arguments. But the problem was that Prescott did not have the same appetite as Gayangos. Yet Gayangos went on supplying more. In 1846, Prescott felt that he had enough; almost begging him to stop sending him more:

Do not, my dear Gayangos, spend any more time upon me. For my arsenal is well stored with ammunition of all sorts.⁶⁹⁵

This was completely unacceptable. Gayangos immediately corrected Prescott, like a supervisor:

Our literature, my friend, is so little known, so vast and so scattered through the four quarters of the earth, that I find it hard to believe what you say in your letter... which I received a day or two since, namely that you now need nothing further.⁶⁹⁶

Hence, Gayangos continued to look for new material. His former disciple, the historian Miguel Lafuente y Alcantara reported that he had found some documents in Granada, some of which related to Philip II. Gayangos immediately promised to look them over, saying to Prescott that he would take copies of "anything you should have."⁶⁹⁷ Though by 1846, although the most intense archival research period had come to an end, Gayangos still went looking for material in Madrid, Paris and

⁶⁹³ Ticknor to Gayangos, 2 April 1849, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.177

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95

⁶⁹⁵ Prescott to Gayangos, 9 October 1846, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.65

⁶⁹⁶ Gayangos to Prescott, 24 November 1846, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.612

⁶⁹⁷ *Idem.*

London well into the 1850s, whilst Prescott was writing up. Gayangos was indeed a true “godfather” as Prescott had termed him. From first to last he encouraged Prescott: first, to embrace the whole reign of Philip II, not just one particular aspect; second, to do more than a “memoir”; third, to consider as much material as possible, and to never lose his curiosity regarding new material that emerged. The nature of Gayangos’ assistance to Prescott is therefore very different from other correspondents, such as Obadiah Rich (1783-1850), the Massachusetts merchant, who had lived in Spain from 1807 to 1828. In 1818, he entered diplomatic service as the US consul in Valencia, and became secretary of the US legation in Madrid (1823). Rich was well versed in Spanish bibliography, but unlike Gayangos, he passively waited for Prescott’s wish-lists of documents which he then tried to satisfy.

Prescott thought of Gayangos as a scholar, not a mere agent. When first in October 1841, Prescott asked Gayangos to undertake research, he did not see Gayangos as copyist. On the contrary, Prescott emphasised that he needed Gayangos to ‘select’ the best material:

The task of copying, being assigned by you to others, would leave you the labours of selection and supervision. It is this business of selection which is most important to me, as the excluding of trivial matter will alone enable my appropriation to cover what is really important.⁶⁹⁸

Prescott also relied on Gayangos for his bibliography. Prescott admitted in December 1841, that he indeed knew “very little of the books and documents relative to Philip’s reign”. He had only consulted two books: Friedrich van Raumer’s *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1835), a popular history touching on Europe in general, written in a direct, lucid and vigorous style, but not fully sharing the view of

⁶⁹⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 October 1841, GARDINER, 1964, p.180

Ranke's school that history writing can only be objective if it is based on official documents. Today, Raumer is forgotten. The only primary printed material on Philip II Prescott had at hand was *Historia de Felipe Segundo* (1603?) by Cabrera de Cordoba, courtier and chronicler of Philip II, certainly a valuable source.⁶⁹⁹ However, with these two, Prescott could hardly begin. He entrusted the task of compiling a full bibliography to Gayangos:

I wish ... you would give Rich order to buy such printed books as you may designate, for a history of the period.⁷⁰⁰

For over a decade, Gayangos obliged. In London, he purchased "many rare" Spanish books at the sale of the library of the Spanish exile and intellectual Antonio Puigblanch (Mataro, 1775 - London, 1840), former university professor of Hebrew in Madrid and Alcala.⁷⁰¹ Gayangos judged that these were "indispensible to your purpose."⁷⁰² Gayangos was a supervisor, upon whom Prescott depended to inform him about "every good printed work that can throw light on the path." When Gayangos left London for Madrid, passing through Holland and Belgium, Prescott wrote: "I hope you will get for me whatever printed books fall in your way, useful for a history of that reign. And I shall be much obliged by your making out a list of all such as may be desirable for me." Gayangos should order from Rich those books, which he was unable to find himself. Rich then was "to hunt them out at his leisure

⁶⁹⁹ PARKER, G, *Philip II*, 1995, p.214

⁷⁰⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 December 1841, PENNEY, *Prescott*, 1927, p.41

⁷⁰¹ Puigblanch: author of a *Inquisición sin mascara*, a campaign for the abolition of the Inquisition (English translation, 1816), and *Observaciones sobre el origen y genio de la lengua castellana*, an ambitious work (900 pages), important to the historiography of linguistics. LLORENTE, 1979, pp.31,202

⁷⁰² Gayangos indicated that most were Spanish books. Many rare books could not be found in Spain, and were therefore more expensive than others. Gayangos to Prescott, 27 Jan 1842, WOLCOTT, 1925, pp.280-1

in London".⁷⁰³ Gayangos was a master of sources of sixteenth-century Spain, something that Prescott could have never achieved from a far distance in Boston.

Gayangos urged Prescott to read the most recent publications as well as sixteenth century editions: the history of Philip II by Evaristo San Miguel, (four volumes, 1844-1847). Gayangos sent volume one to Prescott by September 1844 together with other books. San Miguel was one of the first books Prescott read, when, after the publication of his *Conquest of Peru*, he began to work more seriously on Philip II in 1848. Though he found parts of it "dull sailing...plain narrative", he took "very copious notes", for a first detailed survey of sixteenth-century Spain.⁷⁰⁴ Gayangos also got him to read Charles Weiss' *Spain from Philip II to the Accession of the Bourbons*.⁷⁰⁵ This made Prescott aware of the Rankian approach to history: one based on facts found in official documents. Perhaps, such sources moderated Prescott's love for memoirs and "a good gossiping chronicle", by balancing narrative with official documents.

Gayangos supplied material that only incidentally touched on sixteenth-century Spain, but which widened understanding of the Peninsula. In October 1844 Gayangos recommended Prescott Ford's forthcoming *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* because it was going to become important.⁷⁰⁶ To Prescott, Ford's *Handbook* was significant because it broadened his vision. Prescott stated: "What an olla podrida it is. Criticism, travel, history, topography, etc, etc, all in one. It is a perfect treasure in its way."⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰³ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 August 1842, PENNEY, 1927, p.47

⁷⁰⁴ Diary, 2-30 July 1848, GARDINER, 1961, pp.180-181

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.182

⁷⁰⁶ Gayangos to Prescott, 15 October 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.510

⁷⁰⁷ Prescott to Gayangos, 28 September 1845, *ibid.*, p.553

When Gayangos felt that Prescott neglected certain areas, he pressed for their inclusion.⁷⁰⁸ For example, he brought to his mind the expeditions that were undertaken under Philip II to Africa and Asia. These, among many other themes, had been wholly ignored by Robert Watson, the first British historian of Philip II (1777). Gayangos reminded Prescott that "The history of Philip II is in a way a history of the world." Prescott agreed and informed Gayangos that he wished to have the most important books relating to Africa and Asia under Philip II: "It will be necessary to give a general view of them in order to complete the picture of the Spanish dominion." However, he did not wish to go into too much detail. Gayangos, far from letting Prescott off, reminded him a little later that the Portuguese Barbosa Machado published several volumes of *Memories of the History of Portugal*, which contained "accounts of the expedition of King Sebastian to Africa." He further stated that more information on the expedition to Africa was included in the chronicles of Aragón. Already in an early letter from 1840, Gayangos told Prescott that the wars with the Turks, the Moors in Africa, the relief of Malta, and the exploits of Don John in Tunis, were themes in his "own line", for which he had the "necessary books and manuscripts."⁷⁰⁹ Gayangos further ferreted out a series of documents from Simancas and the archives of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, descendent of Alavaro Bazan, the first Marquis of Santa Cruz and commander at Ceuta under Philip II.⁷¹⁰ Perhaps as a result of Gayangos' insistence and efforts, Prescott dedicated a whole chapter to the relationship of Christian Spain with the Muslim world in the Mediterranean from

⁷⁰⁸ He also encouraged Prescott to consult Portuguese history.

⁷⁰⁹ Gayangos to Prescott, 1840, WOLCOTT, 1925, pp.280-2.

⁷¹⁰ In Spain, Gayangos ferreted out documents from the archives of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, descendent of Alvaro Bazan, the commander of Ceuta. Gayangos to Prescott, 10 Oct 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.396. Prescott used letters from Alvaro Bazan for the battle at the entrance of river Tetuán. Also, Gayangos' findings in Simancas were relevant: Letters from Gaztelu to Molina, the secretary of Charles V, and from Alonzo de Cordoba to Philip II, illustrate Prescott's account of the war on the African coast (1558). PRESCOTT, *Philip II*, ed. 1897, vol. 2, pp. 314-5, 326

1559 to 1563, followed by several chapters on the siege of Malta in, and on the expeditions in the 1570s, including the famous battle of Lepanto.⁷¹¹

Predictably enough Gayangos had a real interest in Spain's connection with the Muslim world, in particular the Moriscos, and played with the idea of writing a history of the Muslims in Spain, and of the Moriscos (which unfortunately never materialised).⁷¹² Often, when making copies for Prescott, Gayangos had copies made for himself too; for example, when examining a manuscript at Holland House, which containing the "decrees and opinions of the Council for the Inquisition relating to the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia, with marginal notes by Philip II",⁷¹³ Gayangos made some extracts for himself, having the whole manuscript copied for Prescott.⁷¹⁴ Thus Gayangos was not, as portrayed by Gardiner, Prescott's unselfish and generous servant, without any ambitions of his own.

The greater proportion of books Prescott was to use were selected and purchased Gayangos. Prescott's library amounted to over "370 books that regarded especially the times of Philip II", excluding those books which "only incidentally touched on Philip II."⁷¹⁵ Prescott hugely profited from Gayangos' bibliographical knowledge. In Gayangos, Prescott had found indeed a perfect counterpart: Gayangos was a great bibliophile, a passionate collector, who continuously hunted down

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-327

⁷¹² Gayangos recognised that his *Mohammedan Dynasties* was not appealing: "the reading of it is so dry that it will only be undertaken by a very few. ... therefore ... I mean to compile a complete history of the domination of the Arabs in Spain from the interesting documents collected there and many other materials which I have secured, unless some Englishman or Frenchman .. does it before I do." Gayangos to Prescott, 22 August 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.243

⁷¹³ "I requested permission of Lady Holland to make a copy of the priceless manuscript relative to Philip II, ... So I am now making enquiries for some respectable and honourable Spaniard ... who can go to Kensington and copy the manuscript faithfully, and when it is finished I shall myself go and compare it with the original." Gayangos to Prescott, 27 December 1841, *ibid.*, p.276

⁷¹⁴ Gayangos to Prescott, 27 January 1842, *ibid.*, p.280

⁷¹⁵ TICKNOR, 1864, p.288

manuscripts and book to enrich his own library. When it is appreciated that, by the end of his life, Gayangos had amassed over 20000 volumes, of which about 4000 touched on Spanish history, his long term loan to Prescott of several hundred items was not a great deal.

Methodology was essential too. Gayangos demonstrated efficiency from the beginning. By the end of 1841, he sent to Prescott all the manuscripts he had collected for *Ferdinand and Isabella* and *Conquest of Mexico*, but he retained those for Philip II in order to work “at random” in his investigations and “to avoid copying anything which is not absolutely necessary.”⁷¹⁶ Whenever possible, he acted as Prescott’s representative, inducing other historians to make their material available to Prescott. Such was the case with the Scottish historian Patrick Fraser Tytler, whom Gayangos had met at Holland House. Tytler was the author of *History of Scotland* (1828) and *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary: with the contemporary history of Europe / illustrated in a series of original letters never before printed* (1839). Prompted by Gayangos, Tytler wrote to Prescott in June 1842:

I met some time ago at Lady Holland’s a Spanish gentlemen, who informed me of your having wished him to examine for you the manuscripts in the State Paper Office about the time of Philip and Mary.⁷¹⁷

Tytler had already done this and consequently owned copies of relevant documents. Tytler wrote to Prescott: “When making collections for my ‘Letters during the Reigns of Edward the Sixth and Mary’, I made a good many transcripts connected with the history of Philip and Mary, which ... are much at your disposal.”⁷¹⁸ Prescott left it to Gayangos to decide whether to accept, writing in June 1842: “If you think

⁷¹⁶ Gayangos to Prescott, 27 December 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.276

⁷¹⁷ Tytler to Prescott, 6 June 1864, TICKNOR, 1864, p.191

⁷¹⁸ *Idem*.

they can be of use to you, I will thank you to send for them, and make copies of such as are worth while. Perhaps, however, you have already exhausted the ground.”⁷¹⁹ It seems that no copies were made, but instead, Tytler personally sent some of his transcripts together with the last volume of his *History of Scotland* to Prescott in 1844.⁷²⁰ These transcripts were incorporated into the Prescott text.⁷²¹

Gayangos liked to serve Prescott copied manuscripts finely laid out on a golden platter, not on a paper tray. Gayangos was always reluctant to let material go without comment or annotation. In December 1841, he found “a volume of documents relating to the conquest of Tunis by the Spaniards, and the sojourn of Don John of Austria in that city”, and he informed Prescott that he retained it for the time being since he wished “to annotate it on the scene of our exploits.”⁷²² Though it is difficult to know how significant this particular manuscript was, the point is that Gayangos’ efforts certainly helped Prescott to interpret primary material. Another letter shows that Gayangos prepared a “statement or epitome” of the material he had on the Spanish expeditions in the Mediterranean,⁷²³ and later a summary of the Spanish operations on the North African coast and an account of the Moorish princes fighting against Sebastian, King of Portugal (1578).⁷²⁴ Gayangos never sent anything without reflecting on it himself; early developing a precise idea of how the material should be used and how the forthcoming history of Philip II should be structured:

⁷¹⁹ Prescott to Gayangos, 14 Nov. 1842, PENNEY, 1927, p.49

⁷²⁰ Tytler to Prescott, April 1844, TICKNOR, 1864, p.215

⁷²¹ PRESCOTT, [1855], ed. 1897 vol.1, p.83, note 1. Prescott quotes from letters by Renard published in Tytler’s *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*. Vol.1, pp. 85, 91, 98, 99, 167, 111

⁷²² Gayangos to Prescott, 27 December 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.276

⁷²³ Gayangos to Prescott, 27 January 1842, *ibid.*, p.282

⁷²⁴ Gayangos to Prescott, 19 April 1847, *ibid.*, p.631. On Sebastian’s expedition, see KAMEN, *Philip II*, 1995, pp.169-170. Prescott never used it as he left *Philip II* unfinished.

into the following chapters: the marriage of Philip in London, Philip's residence and conduct in London, the dealings between the rebels of the Netherlands and Queen Elizabeth, the campaigns of the Duke of Alva, Requesens, etc. etc., the war between England and Spain, the Armada... the wars with the Turks, the Moors in Africa, the relief of Malta, and the sojourn and exploits of Don John in Tunis and the persecution and the rebellion of the Moors of Valencia and Granada.

This is a critical document for it demonstrates how, in just one letter, Gayangos had outlined the structure which Prescott was to adopt for his book; breaking the reign of Philip II into themes, instead of proceeding by chronological order. It demonstrates too that Gayangos was fundamental to the genesis of the Philip II.

In many ways however Gayangos was a very different sort of historian to Prescott. If Gayangos was drawn to Ranke and progressive developments in historiography, Prescott looked back to the romantic world of Washington Irving. How then did Gayangos respond to Prescott's love for chronicles, memoirs or any kind of unofficial material? Prescott told Gayangos that he valued official documents, such as the Venetian *Relazione* for the "minuteness with which the ministers of that republic entered into the affair of the courts where they resided" but he admitted that he almost preferred material which lent itself to the drama of history:

But to say the truth, valuable as are official documents, such as treaties, instructions to ministers, I set still greater store by those letters, diaries, domestic correspondence, which lay open the characters and habits of the great actors in the drama. The others furnish the cold outlines, but these give us the warm colouring of history / all that gives charm and interest.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁵ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 January 1843, TICKNOR, 1864, p.206

Initially, Gayangos overlooked such a fundamentally different outlook. When in Paris, in 1843, Gayangos after having visited daily the archive at the *Hotel Soubise* and the Royal Library, he reported to Prescott:

Although it is certain that materials for your history abound in both places, those that I have thus far examined have too much of an official character to be of much use to you. The only correspondence that I have so far thought worthy of copying are an autograph and unpublished correspondence of Philip II with his ambassador in Paris, Juan de Vargas Mescia... and a series of letters of the Duke of Feria during his mission in Rome.⁷²⁶

He then reported that he had purchased any chronicle and memoir he could find. Evidently, it would seem Gayangos was trying to adjust his methods to complement those of Prescott.

Sourcing and Selecting Manuscripts

We will now turn to the more tangible side of Gayangos' assistance. What did Gayangos actually find, and how did his discoveries influence Prescott? We begin with the Gayangos collection itself, which he generously offered. At first Prescott did not accept, but in August 1841, Gayangos reminded him:

How much more sensible it would have been if you had accepted my offer of last year, and allowed me to send you my whole collection of manuscripts body and soul [...] for the many excellent books which I own I have never had the slightest reluctance to lending them; and in the present age I should think it a literary crime if you did not publish these documents which are so interesting.⁷²⁷

Gayangos pushed Prescott to accept the collection as a loan stating that in his own hands it would be "worthless, in yours it would be a veritable treasure!"⁷²⁸ A little later, he insisted again on acceptance. He now declared that Prescott would do him a

⁷²⁶ These letters were on loan to the Orientalist Edouard Dulaurier (1807-1881), who was reluctant to have them copied.

⁷²⁷ Gayangos to Prescott, 22 Aug 1841, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.243-4

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.244

favour by keeping his manuscripts in a safe place whilst he was going to Tunis to take his post as vice consul:

As I intend during my stay in Africa to make a few excursions into the interior, which may be accompanied by some danger, I have decided to put in a safe place certain of my more important and valuable manuscripts, and as I think that they can be no safer anywhere than in your hands, I have decided to send them to you (whether you like it or not) to keep for me until I ask for their return.⁷²⁹

Prescott then announced his delight at the prospect of having Gayangos' collection, and anticipated that he would have "copies made of those relating to Philip 2d in extenso."⁷³⁰ A little later Gayangos spontaneously announced: "If I die in Africa I hereby make you heir of them; if I survive I will send for them again."⁷³¹ Thus in 1841, Prescott's library increased substantially. Prescott kept Gayangos' collection until his death after which it was returned by Prescott's secretary.

However, the most valuable material Gayangos supplied were papers he found in Simancas: for example, letters from Juan Martínez de Siliceo, who had been appointed by Charles V a tutor to Philip II. With these Prescott shed some light on Philip II's early education, and established that Siliceo was "too accommodating ... for the good of his pupil". The letters are essential to any biography of Philip. Many were published by the historian J.M. March in *Niñez y Juventud de Felipe II* (2 vol., Madrid, 1941). Henry Kamen, the authority on Philip II, and his most recent biographer, made use of March, and further unpublished letters by Siliceo.⁷³²

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256, 276

⁷³⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 October 1841, GARDINER, 1964, p.178

⁷³¹ WOLCOTT, 1925, p.308

⁷³² KAMEN, 1997, pp.3-5,9,33-44

The extent to which Prescott differed from the kind of historian Gayangos might have become, is indicated by Prescott's failure to use the discoveries Gayangos had made about the last days of Charles V when retired at Yuste. In Chapter Four it was demonstrated how it had been Ford not Prescott who had given the world this new information; something Prescott would have had a moral right to, since Gayangos offered him his material first. This episode has already been described in the chapter on Ford. As it was, Gayangos implied that a history of Philip II could not be written without this new information on Charles V's later years. Prescott replied:

You said rightly that I cannot begin a history of Philip II without possessing authentic notices of the last days of Charles V. It will never do to show my ignorance on the very threshold of the work, and all my present collection will be unavailing without materials for this part of the subject, especially as such misapprehensions respecting it have been made popular through Robertson's work...It is a part of Philip's reign ... and it would never do to tell the old story of Robertson's latter days of Charles, now that it is proved to be an error.⁷³³

Gayangos and Prescott agreed that the documents had to be found. Thus when Gayangos arrived at Simancas, his first concern was to ferret out these papers. He found the correspondence of Luis Méndez Quijada with the Secretary Juan Vásquez de Molina, comprising two hundred pages, together with the papers of Charles' secretary Martin de Gaztelu; as well as the bulletins of the royal physician and letters of the Princess Regent. Prescott looked forward to receiving these documents and anticipated how his endeavours would benefit from them. In his diary, he wrote:

Rec'd tidings fr[om] Gayangos most cheering – that he has detected the MSS at Simancas relating to Charles V's mode of life after his resignation – essential to any hist[or]y of Philip II now. He had difficulties of all kinds to encounter, fr[om] ignorance, ridiculous prohibitions &c &c. He has

⁷³³ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 May 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.468

triumphed over all -& I shall reap the fruits of it. He is in truth – a most generous specimen of the generous stock of Castile.⁷³⁴

Upon the reception of the manuscripts and his first perusal of them, he immediately recognised their importance:

I have as yet, with the aid of my secretary's eyes, looked through only about half of them. They are very precious documents. The letters from San Gerónimo de Yuste have much interest, and show that Charles the Fifth was not, as Robertson supposed, a retired monk, who resigned the world, and all the knowledge of it, when he resigned his crown.⁷³⁵

Discovery of the original documents relating to Charles V's later years were without doubt important to Prescott. They eventually triggered Prescott's motivation to write a separate account on Charles V, and changed his attitude of 1842, when he had been reluctant to undertake "anything on that reign" since it had been treated by Robertson. We may briefly recall that he wrote to Gayangos in 1842:

Charles V has been handled by Robertson, and I have not the courage nor the vanity to tread where he has gone before. I do not think the history of his period will make as good a pendant to Ferdinand and Isabella as Philip II will.⁷³⁶

With the new Simancas documents, Prescott's attitude obviously changed. In May 1855, he began to prepare a new conclusion to Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*. It was published in December 1856, meeting with the same success as his other works. 6900 copies were published in London and Boston before the end of 1859.⁷³⁷ However, surely he missed his chance since Ford and then, most conspicuously, Stirling, got there before him. He should have been quicker.

⁷³⁴ Diary entry, 22 September 1844, GARDINER, 1961, p.130

⁷³⁵ Prescott to Gayangos, 13 Nov 1845, TICKNOR, 1864, p.269

⁷³⁶ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 May 1842, *ibid.*, p.190

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.407

If the Charles V material was the most important Gayangos found, the documents discovered relating to Don Carlos were perhaps even more sensational to the nineteenth-century mind. Don Carlos, the insane son of Philip, had died in imprisonment and in very obscure circumstances in 1567. Don Carlos, like Mary Queen of Scots, had fascinated historians and writers alike since the eighteenth century. Schiller turned the life into a dramatic tragedy of great power (1787), which subsequently inspired Verdi's opera of 1867. Don Carlos certainly appealed to the romantic side in Prescott, too: his strong interest in biography, and his 'epic' approach to history writing. He was therefore more than enthused when he heard that Gayangos had found documents in Simancas that related to the death of Don Carlos. Gayangos had taken extracts from the letters of Spanish members of the court to Philip II. These were balanced by extracts from letters of ambassadors to the foreign courts revealing details on Don Carlos' imprisonment and death. Gayangos then discovered another set of 'reserved papers' "*Relating to the imprisonment and death of Don Carlos*," which, as we have seen above, had been available for a short time only.⁷³⁸ Prescott was delighted, noting in his diary in October 1844:

Rec'd letters this week from Gayangos... Gayangos announces treasures secured for me at Simancas, which may throw light on the dark passage related to Don Carlos – as these were secret papers –

Prescott had to wait for some time for the manuscripts, and his comments in his letters reveal him as anxious and tense and not his usual patronising smooth and slightly false self. The manuscripts were finally despatched in November 1847 but by the end of January had not reached Beaconhill. Prescott enquired impatiently: "What the deuce has become of it [the parcel]? It ought to be here by this time. I trust it has

⁷³⁸ Gayangos to Prescott, 28 August 1844, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.495

not fallen into the maw of sea sharks, nor landsharks."⁷³⁹ Finally, these long awaited items arrived by May 1848, four years after Gayangos had found them in Simancas. Prescott was most delighted:

I think from the glance I have had at them, that they will be of much interest and value in relation to this dark topic, which I flatter myself I shall be able now to put clearly enough before the reader."⁷⁴⁰

Gayangos went on to find in 1848 the papers of the papal nuncio and had transcribed them immediately, without asking Prescott whether he wanted them.⁷⁴¹ In 1851, whilst in London, Gayangos continued to look out for material for Prescott, announcing he had found more on Don Carlos:

I cannot say that it contains any new facts, but I am sure that it differs materially from any other I have read. If you wish I can have it transcribed for you as there is now in London a Spaniard who will gladly accept the job. I sail in a few days for Cadiz in a war steamer belonging to our government.⁷⁴²

With the help of these, and perhaps inspired by Gayangos himself, Prescott approached the story of Don Carlos from a less romantic angle; wishing to differentiate himself from former writers. Like Gayangos, he saw himself as a historian, who wished to establish facts not fiction:

A romantic subject, Carlos and Isabella, is it not? Those who have read Schiller, and Alfieri, and Lord John Russell, who wrote a long tragedy on the matter, may think so. But truth is a sturdy plant, that bears too few of the beautiful flowers that belong to fiction, and the historian, who digs up the dry bones of antiquity, has a less cheering occupation than the poet, who creates and colours according to his own fancy. Some people, however, think history not much better than poetry, as far as fact is concerned.⁷⁴³

⁷³⁹ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 Jan 1848, PENNEY, 1927, p.73

⁷⁴⁰ Prescott to Gayangos, 30 May 1848, *ibid.*, p.75

⁷⁴¹ GARDINER, 1959, p.110

⁷⁴² Gayangos to Prescott, 22 October 1851, GARDINER, 1964, p.310

⁷⁴³ Prescott to Lady Lyell, May 1854, TICKNOR, 1864, p.388

Vittorio Alfieri in his tragedy of *Philip II* (1783) and Schiller in his *Don Carlos* (1787), translated by Lord John Russell into English (1819), made Don Carlos a subject for romance, by connecting his sad fate with the story of his attachment to his promised bride, Elizabeth, who then became Philip's wife and Don Carlos' stepmother, and whose death followed so quickly upon his own. But there was no documentary evidence for this story of romance between Don Carlos and the queen, and Prescott rejected it. He devoted two whole chapters to Don Carlos. The first deals with his youth, character, and conduct, his dislike of his father's policies in Flanders, and his supposed desire to kill him, which led to imprisonment. The second had to do with his death in prison. Prescott's account is based on early printed sources as well as on the Gayangos finds, which were certainly the most important sources as Prescott acknowledged:

In the Archives of Simancas is a department known as the patronato, or family papers, consisting of very curious documents, of so private a nature as to render them particularly difficult of access. In this department is deposited the correspondence of Zuñiga, which, with other documents in the same collection, has furnished me with some pertinent extracts.⁷⁴⁴

The correspondence of the papal nuncio,⁷⁴⁵ indeed provided a great part of the skeleton to both chapters, reporting on Carlos' character, his supposed relation to the Flemish generals, and the strange atmosphere that hung over the imprisonment and the death of Carlos. Furthermore the letters of Philip to his sister Juana helped to illustrate Philip's attitude to Don Carlos.⁷⁴⁶ Further documents used by Prescott to describe how Don Carlos was led to death through the imprisonment ordered by the King were official and unofficial documents: unpublished letters from ambassadors to their respective European courts, as well as from Carlos' physician, Hernan

⁷⁴⁴ PRESCOTT, ed. 1897, vol. 2, p.466, note 11

⁷⁴⁵ GARDINER, 1959, p.110

⁷⁴⁶ PRESCOTT, ed.1897, vol.2, p.462-3

Suarez. Another source was the manuscript of the *ayuda de Camara* which described Carlos' life from his imprisonment in 1567 until his death.⁷⁴⁷

These however represent a fraction of material selected for Prescott. The whole was bound into "15 thick folios", in addition to "8 or 10 volumes" that Prescott had received as bound manuscripts. Prescott himself fully recognised the great value of the collection he had acquired through Gayangos. In a letter to Gayangos, he admitted it was

as beautiful a collection, printed and manuscript, I will venture to say, as history monger ever had on his shelves. How much am I indebted to you! There are too many of your own books in it,....you must not fail to advise me when you want any or all of them, which I can easily understand may be the case at any time.⁷⁴⁸

In his diary Prescott noted that he had a

rich mine of Philip II,... my materials are so abundant on every part of this fruitful subject that I seem to have nothing more to desire. The collection ... had occupied more or less, the researches and untiring diligence of one of the most acute scholars [Gayangos] in Europe for several years.⁷⁴⁹

Ticknor recognised the general importance of Gayangos' contributions stating in his biography of Prescott that "without the assistance of a scholar to superintend and direct the whole, like Don Pascual de Gayangos, full of knowledge on the particular subject, proud of his country, whose honour he knew he was serving, and disinterested as a Spanish hidalgo of the olden temper and loyalty, Mr. Prescott could never have laid the foundations he did for his History of Philip the Second"⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.453,454,457,458

⁷⁴⁸ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 Jan 1848, TICKNOR, 1864, p.273

⁷⁴⁹ Diary entry, GARDINER, 1961, p.177

⁷⁵⁰ TICKNOR, 1864, p.288

Gayangos stands as a co-author, or second author to Prescott. Though he did not of course compose any of Prescott's text, and the literary style is certainly Prescott's, he helped structure and shape the whole. He ensured that it was based on a variety of well balanced material. Hence, Prescott's success was therefore also Gayangos'.

The first two volumes of *Philip II* (1855) were well received by scholars and the general public alike. Macaulay wrote to Prescott that it was "excellent" and even "superior to anything that you have written, parts of the History of the Conquest of Mexico excepted. Most of those good judges ... agree with me."⁷⁵¹ The book was reviewed in very positive terms by Guizot, the French Prime Minister and historian, in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1857.⁷⁵² What Guizot mostly praised was Prescott's use of manuscript material. He thought that Prescott had added some new material to what was already known, and that his book was not merely a compilation from others, but a result of further discoveries in public libraries, in archives, in private collections of manuscripts. As we know, Prescott could have never achieved this without Gayangos. Guizot also praised the very structure of the book, which, as we have seen, Gayangos helped to shape. Guizot further congratulated Prescott for his objectivity and impartial treatment of difficult subjects, such as Philip II, Alva and Cardinal Granvelle, who "sometimes put Mr. Prescott's virtue to a severe trial, but his virtue is never at fault.... This impartiality ...is the result of a sincere homage to truth, of an earnest sentiment of Christian charity."⁷⁵³ The positive response by intellectuals in Europe and America was mirrored by the enthusiasm of the public.

⁷⁵¹ Macaulay to Prescott, 8 Jan 1859, TICKNOR, 1864, p.439

⁷⁵² Guizot's article in *Edinburgh Review* reprinted in *William Hickling Prescott, A Memorial*, GARDINER, 1959, p.177-179

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.179

8000 copies of the first two volumes (1855) were sold in the US alone, and gave a further impetus to the sale of Prescott's former books. Prescott received 17000 dollars within six months after the publication of the two volumes, something most historians only dreamt of. By 1860, nearly 13000 copies had been sold.⁷⁵⁴

Evidently Gayangos was the figure behind the arras. But did Prescott ever invite him onto the dais? What did Prescott have to say to his readership about the debt to Gayangos? Prescott admitted in his letters to Gayangos as well as confiding in his diary how indebted he was for: encouragement, inspiration, guidance and selection and provision of material. The reward was that Gayangos was made fellow of the Academy in Boston.⁷⁵⁵ However, the truth was never revealed in the books themselves. Though the preface to *Philip II* gives Gayangos credit, it is rather vague in terms of the significance of material obtained. Whilst other scholars, such as Tytler, who only contributed in a limited way, receive detailed acknowledgment even in the footnotes, Gayangos gets little or none for the manuscripts he provided.

Only in the case of the papers relating to Charles V does Prescott explain, and then in an appendix to his chapter on Charles V in *Philip II*, that Gayangos had assisted in the discovery of manuscripts in 1844. However, this does not tell the full story: namely that Gayangos had first made him aware of the value of the deposit and indeed nothing is said in relation to the efforts Gayangos had made to obtain the manuscripts from Gonzalez first.

It was at this period that my friend Pascual de Gayangos, having obtained authority from the government, passed some weeks at Simancas in collecting

⁷⁵⁴ TICKNOR, 1864, p.405

⁷⁵⁵ Gayangos to Prescott, July 1843, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.376. Gayangos became a member in 1842.

materials, some of which have formed the groundwork of the preceeding chapter.⁷⁵⁶

Why was it then that Prescott was willing to give detailed credit to other scholars, but not to Gayangos? In his note appended to his *Charles V* he explained the significance of the Simancas manuscripts, too, but here Gayangos' name is omitted altogether! Whilst stating that the documents from Simancas were crucial to his account on Charles V at Yuste, there is no mention of Gayangos:

I have made the authentic records which I have received from Simancas the foundation of my narrative – freely availing myself, at the same time, of the labours of my predecessors” – Stirling and Mignet, wherever they have thrown light on the path from sources not within my reach.⁷⁵⁷

Gardiner does not give any further explanation about how and why Prescott failed to acknowledge Gayangos' help, but simply indicts Prescott for this failure. However, all this can be explained. Gayangos did not receive as much credit as he should have because other scholars had edited many of the manuscripts, which Gayangos had found in 1844, in the 1850s, before Prescott published. The Belgian scholar and archivist Gachard had gathered some of the documents in Simancas and published them in 1854-5 in his *Retraite et Mort de Charles Quint, lettres inédites publiées d'après les originaux conservés dans les Archives Royales de Simancas* (Bruxelles 1854-1855). It focuses on the emperor and his household, containing many of those letters which Gonzalez had copied. The French historian Auguste Mignet had managed to purchase the manuscripts from Gonzalez and used them for his *Charles Quint, son Abdication, son Séjour et sa Mort au Monastère de Yuste* (1854). Stirling then examined the manuscript, in the hands of Mignet, in Paris and as a result published *The Cloister Life of Charles Fifth* in 1852. Shortly afterwards, Amadée

⁷⁵⁶ PRESCOTT, *Philip II*, ed.1897, vol.1, p.304

⁷⁵⁷ PRESCOTT, *Charles V*, ed.1897, p.v

Pichot published his "*Chronique de Charles Quint*" (1854). Thus, the documents which Prescott had received through Gayangos in 1844 lost partly their primary status when Gachard's, Mignet's and Stirling's works on Charles V came out before his. Prescott was thus not the first to use the manuscripts; and when it came to acknowledge the value of the documents, he referred in the footnotes to Mignet's publication, but failed to mention Gayangos, who had actually realised the true significance of the Gonzalez transcription some ten years before Gachard and Mignet. Prescott gave a detailed account of the history of the Gonzalez manuscript, however the omission of Gayangos seems wholly unjustified. There is an irony: had Prescott worked at the tempo Gayangos would have desired, Prescott would have had the kudos of giving the world this quite new interpretation of Charles V after his abdication.

There is no acknowledgment of Gayangos' efforts in the footnotes either. Prescott actually often relied on the printed documents edited by Gachard and Mignet. He more often quoted from them than directly from the documents which Gayangos had had transcribed for Prescott. Whilst Mignet and Gachard receive further praise in the footnotes for having published the documents, Prescott remains silent when he indicates a document from Simancas, which he had received through Gayangos.⁷⁵⁸ For example, in *Philip II*, Prescott quotes from a letter of Gaztelu to Vazquez de Molina, stating that it was from Simancas, but without acknowledging the fact that it was Gayangos who had obtained it. On the other hand, when using a manuscript edited by Mignet, he fully acknowledges this fact praising Mignet's book

⁷⁵⁸ E.g. PRESCOTT, *Philip II*, vol 1, ed.1897, p20, Prescott quotes from a letter from Gaztelu to Vazquez de Molina, without acknowledging his debt to Gayangos, who had found it in Simancas.

as “an interesting account of Charles V”.⁷⁵⁹ By giving Mignet and others the entire credit, Prescott kept Gayangos’ great labours hidden from his readership. To the reader, it was clearly Mignet, Gonzalez and Gachard, who had contributed to the revelation about Charles V later years, but not Gayangos. Prescott adopted the same pattern of non-acknowledgment when it came to other manuscripts which Gayangos had found, selected and transcribed. Nowhere in his footnotes, does Prescott acknowledge a debt for Gayangos having drawn attention to a certain book or manuscript, or for having obtained it for him.⁷⁶⁰ On the other hand, other scholars, who had often made a lesser contribution received full and detailed praise. As we have seen, Tytler received praise in the preface of Philip II and in the footnotes too.⁷⁶¹ In short, Tytler received a disproportionately generous acknowledgement for only one letter used. However, when it came to the manuscripts that he had received through Gayangos, Prescott never ever made this sort of acknowledgement.

This leads us to the assumption that acknowledging in the footnotes his debt to Gayangos would have seemed embarrassing. If he had given Gayangos credit whenever he really ought to do, his dependence would have become transparent and perhaps would have threatened his reputation and existence as an independent historian. Instead, giving credit to some published work by Mignet, Tytler, Weiss or others seemed less threatening. Hence, it is of little surprise that in his correspondence with other European intellectuals, Prescott kept his dependency and close relationship with Gayangos hidden, too. For example, writing to Count

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.20, n.11: “The last of Philip’s letter is given entire in the MS of Tomas Gonzales... which forms the basis of Mignet’s interesting account of Charles the Fifth.”

⁷⁶⁰ PRESCOTT, *Philip II*, vol. 2, ed.1897: *Lettere del Nunzio al Cardinale Alessandrini*, 1566, p.450,456,475,478, 479,480,482,483,486

⁷⁶¹ PRESCOTT, [1855], ed. 1897 vol.1, p.83, n.1. Prescott quotes from letters by Renard published in Tytler’s *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*. See vol. 1. p. 85, 91, 98, 99,111,167

Adolphe de Circourt, correspondent with Toqueville,⁷⁶² in 1845, he referred to him not by his name, but simply as “my agent” in Spain,⁷⁶³ which is rather an insult to Gayangos.

Prescott was held in great esteem by European intellectuals, and he obviously hugely rejoiced in his prestige abroad. Whenever he received a letter congratulating him on his literary accomplishments, he clearly reveled in the praise and made a note of every positive letter in his diary.⁷⁶⁴ In one instance, perhaps feeling that he was overdoing it, he went on justifying these diary entries: “It is not vanity which leads me to dwell on these testimonials from high and distant sources, with satisfaction. I have a right to take a satisfaction in them.”⁷⁶⁵ It is clear that Prescott rejoiced in his success as a historian. So here, admitting to the public that Gayangos had been to him a truly inspiring, encouraging and scholarly collaborator, instead of a mere agent, must have created some anxiety. This would explain why there is a clear distinction between the private relationship he had with Gayangos and the official one.

Although Gayangos does feature at large in the preface to *Philip II*, as tribute it is less than satisfactory. Indeed it is patronising. Whilst from this one can get some sense that Gayangos was important, he is not credited with intellectual and inspirational assistance. Prescott simply kept silent about Gayangos’ scholarship, the Gayangos’ library, his debt to him for having told him what to read, etc. Nothing is said regarding Gayangos’ guidance through the maze of printed literature available,

⁷⁶² *Correspondance d’Alexis de Tocqueville avec Adolphe de Circourt et avec Madame de Circourt*, Gallimard, Paris, 1983

⁷⁶³ Prescott to de Circourt, 30 March 1845, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.536.

⁷⁶⁴ Diary entries, GARDINER, 1961, pp.116,124,181,141,149,152

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.116: Diary, 6 February 1844.

both old and modern, and those continuous efforts to widen horizons. It is abundantly clear from the correspondence that Gayangos was a supervisor and mentor to Prescott, not simply the “indispensable aid”. Prescott’s public acknowledgement does not allow the reader to see the importance and the very multi-faceted role played by Gayangos in the genesis of the most famous histories published in the nineteenth centuries.

We know that Gayangos wished at some stage to have a copy of Prescott’s portrait. Prescott never asked for a portrait of Gayangos. Had he had such a thing in his room, would he have felt threatened or reminded of how much Gayangos had contributed, which may have been a rather inconvenient thought? Prescott only acknowledged those who were no real threat to him. He allowed Mignet, Gachard, Stirling and others in his footnotes. Instead of having a copy of Gayangos’ portrait, he had a copy made of a portrait of Irving.⁷⁶⁶ What we shall never know is how Gayangos felt about the less than generous response from a man whose platform of success rested on the twin struts of manuscript and secondary sources supplied over twenty years by the greatest Spanish historian of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁶⁶ Prescott to Gayangos, 27 August 1845, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.551



George Ticknor
Photogravure of a statuette by Martin Milmore, n.d.
(reproduced in Penney, C., *George Ticknor. Letters to Pascual de Gayangos*, 1927)

Chapter 6: Gayangos and George Ticknor

The substantial contributions Gayangos was able to make to two important Hispanists has already become apparent in the previous chapters: Prescott and Ford owed much to Gayangos. Here it will be demonstrated how an enormous capacity for work enabled Gayangos to make parallel and equally significant contributions to George Ticknor (plate X). What Prescott had done for Spanish History, Ticknor did for its literature. The *History of Spanish Literature* (1849) is a landmark in the progress of Spanish studies. It also contributed to the broader reputation of American scholarship. With Ticknor's *History*, the American scholastic contribution to Hispanic Studies now superseded what had been done in Europe; The *History* was immediately recognised as a vast improvement on the work of European predecessors: Bouterwek, Sismondi and Hallam.⁷⁶⁷ Until Ticknor's publication, Bouterwek's English translation of his volume on Spanish literature (1823), had represented the only synoptic account of Spanish literature to the English reader. Sismondi's *Litterature du Midi* (1810) and Hallam's *Introduction to European Literature* (1837) incorporated accounts on Spanish literature, but drawing heavily on Bouterwek and added little new. In contrast, Ticknor's three-volume work was exclusively dedicated to Spanish literature. It not only covered a wider chronology, but also included many more authors and notices of works hitherto unknown or little studied. Ticknor's book thus represented the foundation stone of all subsequent work on Spanish literary studies; and the standard work for at least half a century in

⁷⁶⁷ Bouterwek's account of Spanish literature was included in his survey of European literature (*Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, 12 vol., 1805-1819), and translated into English (*History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature*, 1823). Sismondi's *Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, Paris 1810, closely followed Bouterwek's. HALLAM, *Introduction to European Literature* 4 vol., 1837

Europe and America.⁷⁶⁸ It went through four nineteenth century editions; and was translated into Spanish and German. The last edition was reprinted as late as 1965.⁷⁶⁹ Ticknor was also the most important American collector of Spanish books in the nineteenth century; as a founding member of the Public Library in Boston he bequeathed his library to this institution. No one else has done more for Spanish literature than Ticknor. But like Prescott, Ticknor was so heavily depended on Gayangos that the contributions made by the Spanish scholar deserve notice.

When Gayangos met Ticknor, the latter was already a respected scholar with almost twenty years of study behind him. He was intellectually and socially pre-eminent and acquainted with most outstanding minds: from Byron and Scott to Humboldt. Ticknor's passion for Spain dated from a visit in 1818, undertaken after three years of intense study at the University of Göttingen (1815-1818), where Bouterwek was professor of philosophy. In Madrid, the Arabist José Antonio Conde had first directed Ticknor towards early Castilian poetry.⁷⁷⁰ With Conde's help, Ticknor began to purchase books and manuscripts, which soon attracted the notice of others. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, described Ticknor, while his guest in Abbotsford, as a "wonderful fellow for romantic lore."⁷⁷¹ Upon his return to Boston, Ticknor was appointed to the new Chair of Spanish literature at Harvard. His lectures were perceived as ground-breaking, partly because he introduced the study of modern writers. Prescott remembered that they

served to break down the barrier which had so long confined the student to converse with antiquity; they opened to him a free range among those great

⁷⁶⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 14 May 1850, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.211

⁷⁶⁹ HART, in *Spain in America*, ed. KAGAN, 2002, p.106

⁷⁷⁰ TICKNOR, *History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1863, p. xiii

⁷⁷¹ Quoted by PRESCOTT, *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies*, 1864, p.608

masters of modern literature who had hitherto been veiled in the obscurity of a foreign idiom. The influence of this instruction was soon visible in the higher education as well as the literary ardour shown by the graduates.⁷⁷²

Ticknor resigned from his post in 1835 to prepare his three-volume *History of Spanish Literature*. It was during his second residence in Europe that he met Gayangos. Like Prescott, Ticknor found in Gayangos an ideal associate: a consultant, a source of inspiration and encouragement, and an important provider of material. Gayangos himself had toyed with the idea of writing a *History of Spanish Literature* in the late 1830s.⁷⁷³ Nothing came of this project, but it certainly enabled him to identify with Ticknor. Gayangos was to help Ticknor until Ticknor died in 1871.

How significant was Gayangos' input? Gayangos' importance to Ticknor has not gone unnoticed, however opinions about the dependency are divided. In 1897, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, author of *A New History of Spanish Literature* (1929), boldly claimed that it would be "no exaggeration to say that Ticknor's 'History' could scarcely have been written without Gayangos' aid."⁷⁷⁴ Ticknor's own remarks support Kelly's statement. Ticknor, just like Prescott, admitted how Gayangos' help had been crucial: "I do not know how I could have got on with my *History of Spanish Literature*, without your assistance."⁷⁷⁵ Unfortunately, Fitzmaurice-Kelly did not explain how Gayangos contributed. By contrast to Kelly were the views expressed by Clara Louisa Penney in 1927 in her edition of a selection of Ticknor's letters to Gayangos. She concluded: "It can be noted, ... that the aid received by

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, p.608

⁷⁷³ Gayangos' friend Estébanez Calderón suggested that they collaborate on a *Historia de la Literatura Española*. CANOVAS, *El Solitario y su tiempo*, 1883, vol 2, p.354

⁷⁷⁴ FITZMAURICE-KELLY, "Biographical notice", *RH*, n° 12, November 1897, pp. 337-41

⁷⁷⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 11 Feb 1851, *ibid.*, p.230

Ticknor from Gayangos for the first edition of the *History* was not as great as has been thought.” Whilst she admitted that Gayangos’ assistance had been important to Ticknor for the provision of books, manuscripts and bibliographic information, she felt that Gayagnos was less a “creative worker”, whose contribution “should not be magnified”, and that Ticknor’s *History of Spanish Literature* was entirely his own. Penney’s opinion, in turn, has to be challenged. Her view is the result of a limited study of the correspondence. She did not pay attention to the many references to “epitomes” and “memoranda”, while the loss of Gayangos’ half of the correspondence between the two makes it very difficult to assess the relationship. The purpose of this Chapter is to offer a fresh assessment. It will be argued that Gayangos was as central to Ticknor as was the case with Prescott.

One important contribution had to do with providing Ticknor with material, which Ticknor had not explored and that enabled Ticknor’s *History* to be far more ambitious than his Harvard lectures. Early on Ticknor realised that Gayangos was a passionate bibliophile with an excellent eye for rare books on the market and enquired whether Gayangos could help him to find material in England.⁷⁷⁶ Gayangos replied non-committally: “*Veré lo que puedo hacer*”.⁷⁷⁷ Ticknor became more insistent, knowing how Gayangos had offered Prescott the loan of his most important historical books and manuscripts, “for safe keeping”, during the time of his intended sojourn in Tunis. Thus Ticknor wrote:

...if you have any books such as I need, that you are willing to part with in any way or under any limitations or conditions, I pray you to let me know it.
... I know you have a project of going to Africa, which must necessarily

⁷⁷⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 May 1840, PENNEY, *Ticknor*. 1927, p.11

⁷⁷⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 Oct 1841, *ibid.*, p.21

make your Spanish Books useless to you for a time, &, perhaps, make you more willing to part with them or with some of them.⁷⁷⁸

In the event Gayangos came to treat Ticknor with the same generosity as Prescott.

With the arrival of the first seventy books, Ticknor responded:

I cannot thank you enough for this great kindness and liberality. Many of the books are new to me – some of them are very important – all will be most welcome.⁷⁷⁹

Ticknor was dependent upon Gayangos for rare books, such as the Marques de Villena's *Trabajos de Hercules* (1483), an outstanding work for early Spanish literature, which so far had been little studied because of its rarity. Bouterwek had drawn attention to Villena (1384-1434) as a most distinguished writer, however he had not read Villena's *Trabajos de Hercules*. His commentary mostly derived from Mayans' *Orígenes de la Lengua Española* (1737). Bouterwek only pointed out that confusion hang over *Trabajos de Hercules*, as some thought it a poem, others a work in prose.⁷⁸⁰ Thus Gayangos' loan was most important as it enabled Ticknor to give for the first time detailed and accurate information on Villena's chief work. Ticknor acknowledged all this in his *History*:

'The *Trabajos de Hercules*' is one of the rarest books in the world, ... The copy which I use is of the first edition, and belongs to Don Pascual de Gayangos. The mistakes made about it are remarkable, and render the details I have given of some consequence. [Other authors] all speak of it *as a poem*."⁷⁸¹

Gayangos also sent Ticknor "ample extracts" of an unpublished treatise by Bishop Lope de Barrientos, which was to provide Ticknor with new contextual information

⁷⁷⁸ *Idem*

⁷⁷⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 29 December 1841, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.22

⁷⁸⁰ BOUTERWEK, 1823, vol.ii, p.80

⁷⁸¹ TICKNOR, 1849, vol.1, 330-1

on Villena.⁷⁸² The Bishop had ordered Villena's collection of books to be burnt as they related to the "magic and unlawful arts",⁷⁸³ and his treatise included references to Villena's collection. Ticknor was delighted with Gayangos' extracts stating they were "extremely valuable, especially those relating to Barrientos...I cannot thank you enough for them."⁷⁸⁴ They enabled Ticknor to consider Villena's work in its context, bringing to the reader's mind the climate of oppression, in which Spanish writers operated in the late fifteenth century. Ticknor's notice of Villena was the first accurate one and thus a real contribution to scholarship on early Spanish literature. Since then, Villena is considered outstanding and "the most interesting case of a man who defied the anti-intellectual pressures of his time".⁷⁸⁵ His works, in particular the *Trabajos de Hercules* have been the subject of many independent studies.⁷⁸⁶

Many extremely rare books caught Ticknor's attention, such as the narrative poem: "*Death, Burial, and Honours of Chrespina Maranzama, the Cat of Juan Chrespo*", published in 1604 in Paris. Ticknor considered it worth including in his *History*, where he qualified it as one of the best imitations extant of Italian mock-heroics. He admitted that he had known "nothing of the poem or its author except what is to be found in this volume, of which I have never met even with a bibliographical notice, and of which I have seen only one copy, - that belonging to my friend Don Pascual de Gayangos, of Madrid."⁷⁸⁷ Ticknor immensely appreciated

⁷⁸² Ticknor acknowledged that he had received these extracts through Gayangos. TICKNOR, 1849, p.327, n.25

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 327

⁷⁸⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, May 1848, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.159

⁷⁸⁵ DEYERMOND, *The Middle Ages*, 1971, pp.147-8, 173.

⁷⁸⁶ LEONI F. SACHS, "A portrait of a magician as outsider" *Studies in Philology*, LXIV (1967), 109-31

⁷⁸⁷ TICKNOR, 1849, vol 2, p.455

Gayangos' loan. In 1844, he had "read nearly all the books", ⁷⁸⁸ but was much "grieved" by the idea of parting with them, ⁷⁸⁹ and finally by September 1846 sent the books back to Spain. ⁷⁹⁰ He expressed his gratefulness once more; guilty for having kept the books so long:

If you knew how much gratitude goes with them, you would feel yourself in part at least rewarded for your kindness in permitting me to have them so long. ⁷⁹¹

Ticknor had enormous respect for Gayangos' steadily growing collection and this emerges from his preface to his *History*. ⁷⁹² There it is declared how the Gayangos' library was one of the three best private collections in Spain. ⁷⁹³ However, what Ticknor did not acknowledge was how much he had benefited from the generous loan over many years. Here the same pattern as we observed with Prescott re-emerges.

Gayangos also made important purchases for Ticknor. By 1841 the Ticknor collection comprised by 1841 over 1500 items, ⁷⁹⁴ but the number of purchases made thereafter was "greater than in any other years." ⁷⁹⁵ By 1846 his "collection had more than doubled" since 1834-5, and Ticknor was eager to "make it complete". ⁷⁹⁶ Ticknor's dependence on Gayangos started in 1840, ⁷⁹⁷ and, wherever Gayangos was,

⁷⁸⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 25 April 1844, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.77

⁷⁸⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 13 March 1845, *ibid.*, p.118

⁷⁹⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 20 September 1846, *ibid.*, p.130

⁷⁹¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 15 Dec 1846, 30 Oct 1847, 30 July 1848; 2 April 1849; *ibid.*, pp.137, 149, 161, 192. The books did not reach Gayangos till 1849.

⁷⁹² Ticknor wanted to see the new catalogue of Gayangos' books even as late as 1854. Ticknor to Gayangos, 20 February 1854, *ibid.*, p.263

⁷⁹³ The collections of the Marquis de Pidal and Agustin Durán were the other two outstanding private collections.

⁷⁹⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 16 June 1841, *ibid.*, p.17

⁷⁹⁵ HILLARD, *Life, letters and journals of Ticknor*, 1876, p.249

⁷⁹⁶ The growth of Ticknor's collection was not just due to Gayangos. Ticknor acknowledged a debt to Obadiah Rich (1783-1850). Ticknor to Dr. Julius, 25 Jan 1846, *Life of Ticknor*, 1876, p.250

⁷⁹⁷ Ticknor enquired whether Gayangos could find certain manuscripts and printed books, such as "Ayala's *Rimado de Palacio*, the Marquis de Santillana's *Works*, *La Danca General*, *The Rabbi Don*

he thought of Ticknor. For example, when he visited Phillip's library at Middle Hill in October 1842, he not only made copies for Prescott, but also extracts for Ticknor of the *Cancionero* of the Marques de Santillana, and the *Libro de los príncipes* by Hernán Pérez de Guzmán.⁷⁹⁸ From London in 1842, he also began to make arrangements with a copyist in Spain to transcribe manuscripts for Ticknor. An unpublished letter from Gayangos reveals that he also offered to serve Ticknor in Brussels, Leyden and Paris,⁷⁹⁹ on his way to Spain.

When Gayangos accepted the chair of Arabic at Madrid, Ticknor was pleased. It meant that Gayangos could take things into his own hands. Accordingly Ticknor made up lists of over fifty manuscripts and books, Gayangos should purchase:⁸⁰⁰ early lives of saints, chronicles, poetry, *cancioneros*, certain volumes of Lope de Vega, and some by Cervantes, missing in his library.

A few examples demonstrate the importance of Gayangos' involvement in the growth of Ticknor's collection. Through Gayangos, Ticknor received a copy of the rare manuscript of Rabbi Don Santo, a leading Hebrew writer of fourteenth-century Spain,⁸⁰¹ also known as Rabbi Don Sem Tob of Carrión (Palencia).⁸⁰² Ticknor had seen the manuscript in Spain in 1818 with Conde, and knew that there was a second one in the Escorial. Almost nothing was known about the author. Bouterwek had only referred to Don Sem Tob as "author of maxims in verse,

Santo, the Poema de Fernan Gonzalez &c". Ticknor to Gayangos, 29 Dec 1841, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.25

⁷⁹⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 15 Nov 1842, *ibid.*, p.67.

⁷⁹⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 3 February 1843, BPL, Ch A13.78

⁸⁰⁰ Ticknor's requests: letters 31 March, 25 June, 28 July, 28 September and 29 October 1842, the latter a summary of requests. PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, pp.46-63

⁸⁰¹ DEYERMOND, 1971, p.120.

⁸⁰² He was born at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century in Carrión de los Condes (Palencia). He is also known as Sem Tob ben Ishaq ibn Ardutiel. His name comes from Hebrew Shem Tov.

flourishing during the first half of the fifteenth century”,⁸⁰³ however he had no direct knowledge of his works. Gayangos thus enabled Ticknor to give for the first time more information on the author’s work. It was a poem addressed by the Jewish writer to a Christian king, Peter the Cruel, giving moral counsels. The manuscript also included three other works: ‘Consejos, Doctrina cristiana, Danza General’.⁸⁰⁴ Ticknor was extremely pleased with what Gayangos had sent him, declaring that he would like to append to his *History* parts of the manuscript, unless Gayangos preferred to print it first in Madrid. Gayangos was not interested, and thus Ticknor edited the “*Danza General de la Muerte*” in the appendix of his *History*. The poem, describing men of all ranks, dancing with a skeleton personifying Death, was an early Spanish version of the Dance of Death, a common theme, in painting and literature, but not in Spain, since the fourteenth century. Its inclusion revealed that the theme found its expression in Spain, too.⁸⁰⁵

Gayangos assisted Ticknor with purchases throughout Europe: a great collector himself, and in touch with bibliophiles in and outside Spain, Gayangos was informed of the contents of private libraries as well as of up-coming sales. For example, he knew that Father Riego, the old Spanish exile in London, who dealt with books, possessed a particular manuscript that Ticknor wanted. Upon Gayangos’ suggestion, Ticknor asked Obadiah Rich, Ticknor’s agent in London, to have a copy made from Riego’s manuscript. Gayangos gave also advice on the Southey sale to

⁸⁰³ BOUTERWEK, 1823, p.332

⁸⁰⁴ TICKNOR, 1849, vol. 1, p.82-4

⁸⁰⁵ DEYERMOND, 1971, p.190-1

Rich.⁸⁰⁶ Cumulatively, Ticknor purchased about 30 volumes.⁸⁰⁷ Gayangos put Ticknor into contact with booksellers outside Spain, too.⁸⁰⁸

Ticknor's often very tentative requests indicate how much he needed Gayangos' guidance and judgement. Selecting books began by June 1842, when Ticknor stated that he wished to have "extracts, and chosen selections" of any unpublished manuscripts of old Spanish poetry up to 1600, as well as on the theatre. As he did not know any specific manuscript he wished, he left the choice entirely to Gayangos.

manuscripts... you may be satisfied would be useful, for a history of early Spanish literature. I suppose it would rarely or never be desirable to copy a whole manuscript, but only to describe it & give extracts from it. I should like to have at least 500 pages of such extracts; & more if you think more advisable. ...the copies of any unpublished manuscript that will illustrate the history of Spanish theatre before the appearance of Lope de Vega:- say before 1580.⁸⁰⁹

He also invited Gayangos to guide him through the lesser known corners of Spanish literature. What should he buy? What was available? Was there something he did not know?

what I desire especially to know is, what I can buy, for I very often might purchase books of whose existence I had before no knowledge... You will greatly oblige me therefore, if you will employ anybody to make out a list of all the Spanish Books that you think are rare & worth my notice, with their prices, which you may happen to know are now on sale anywhere in Europe.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 25 April 1844, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.80

⁸⁰⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 July 1844, *ibid.*, p.81

⁸⁰⁸ E.g. with a German bookseller, who offered to "send in quantities" to the US. Ticknor wanted his address, as some of his "friends in New-York wished to enter into business relations with him."

Ticknor to Gayangos, 1 June 1847, *ibid.*, p.144

⁸⁰⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 25 June 1842, *ibid.*, p.55

⁸¹⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 March 1842, *Life letters and journals of George Ticknor*, 3rd ed. 1909, p. 247

This shows both Ticknor's ambition to widen his perspective, but also his dependence on Gayangos in Spain. Ticknor had not returned to Spain during his sojourn in Europe in 1835-8, when Spain was enveloped by the Carlist wars. Working from Boston, his place as an authority was underpinned by Gayangos. The latter made lists from which Ticknor would make substantial selections; in 1844 he bought sixteenth and seventeenth century volumes for an estimated 1512 *reales*. Ticknor also sent a catalogue of his own library so that Gayangos could see what was still missing and "make additions to it":⁸¹¹

I shall be very glad to receive from you any books not on it [list of Ticknor's books] that you think would be useful to me in writing a history of Spanish literature. ...But I pray you in this, also, to exercise your discretion freely. When you need more funds, please to let me know.⁸¹²

Later, Gayangos suggested that Ticknor buy books from the library of the Marquis of St. Cruz.⁸¹³ He provided a catalogue of eighty books from which Ticknor selected forty four for 1326 reales. Ticknor, wondering how well he had chosen, invited Gayangos to add anything "you may think would be useful to me."⁸¹⁴ In reply Gayangos advised Ticknor against certain purchases, which Ticknor gladly accepted.⁸¹⁵ From Madrid, Gayangos provided Ticknor with books till the end of his life, the reception of which always caused great satisfaction. Ticknor encouraged Gayangos to act freely without consulting him.⁸¹⁶ He repeatedly insisted that Gayangos should buy "always ... just such books as you think best, without

⁸¹¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 July 1844, PENNEY, 1927, p.82

⁸¹² Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 August 1844, *Life [...] of Ticknor*, 1909, p.249

⁸¹³ Ticknor to Gayangos, 25 April 1844, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.81

⁸¹⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 14 Oct 1844, *ibid.*, p.87

⁸¹⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 27 Feb 1845, *ibid.*, p.95

⁸¹⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 14 Oct 1844, *ibid.*, p.88

consulting me previously. You have now my catalogue &, of course, such consultation is no longer important.”⁸¹⁷

It has become apparent in assessing the influence of Gayangos on Anglo-Saxon scholarship how versatile and wide ranging he was as an authority on Spanish culture. Once again, this can be demonstrated in looking at the relationship between Gayangos and Ticknor. For example, Gayangos was required to

make out for me a list of the authors of Spain since 1820, who either in poetry or elegant prose, ought to be noticed in a literary history of the country, placing against or under each person's name, a list of all the works (volumes) he has printed. I suppose I have nearly all of them. But a complete list of the principal authors for the last 23 years, will show me what I want, & enable me to send for them.⁸¹⁸

Here the point was Ticknor wanted to “show the state of literature for the last forty years.” For this purpose, he required literary criticism of both old and recent Spanish literature published in Spanish magazines or reviews, “all I can get of such discussions.”⁸¹⁹ Ticknor thus comes across a highly dependent scholar. Again, the selection was left to Gayangos. Ticknor also wondered whether there were new editions of old books and together with any “interesting or curious articles on Spanish literature.”⁸²⁰ Accordingly, in 1846, Gayangos sent several volumes of the *Boletín Bibliográfico*, and the *Bibliografía de España*, which provided an overview of the current literature in Spain: including novels and annotated new editions of old literature. Ticknor thus acquired important modern Spanish works as, such as Hartzenbusch's biography of Calderón de la Barca (1840); the *Diccionario de*

⁸¹⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 27 Feb 1845, *ibid.*, p.96

⁸¹⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 April 1843, *ibid.*, p.71

⁸¹⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 28 April 1845, *ibid.*, p.100

⁸²⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 14 Oct 1844, *ibid.*, p.88. Also, p.99

Etimologías Castellanas by Ramón Cabrera (1837) and Agustín Durán's *Colección de Sainetes de Ramon de la Cruz* (1843), considered the only worthwhile popular poetry produced in the 18th century. New dramas and novels, such as *El Príncipe de Viana* (1844) by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (1814-73), a major poetess of the period, were also purchased.⁸²¹ Thus through Gayangos Ticknor kept up with Spanish literary scholarship and contemporary writers. When this material arrived, Ticknor fully admitted that he could have obtained them "in no other way" and that they were "of great consequence" to him,⁸²² and expressed his thanks, writing: "A thousand thanks for it, & for its precious contents, especially the manuscripts."⁸²³ As with Prescott, so with Ticknor, Gayangos never got tired of recommending further material. By 1846 we learn that the Ticknor collection was by then very good "through your [Gayangos's] care." Ticknor was indefatigable purchasing more items and therefore gave Obadiah Rich in London, and Gayangos in Madrid his "*carte blanche*" to buy anything they thought useful in any way. He wrote to both that they should keep each other informed of the purchases they made, so that they would not buy the same material.⁸²⁴

Despite the pre-eminence of Obadiah Rich as a conduit for Spanish books, Ticknor actually had greater respect for the judgement of Gayangos. Ticknor occasionally asked Rich to consult Gayangos before making any purchases in London. Gayangos for his part had a completely free hand, Ticknor insisting: I must count upon you to go on purchasing for me whatever books you think I ought to

⁸²¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 20 Sep 1846, *ibid.*, p.131. See SHAW, *The Nineteenth Century*, 1972, pp. 39-2, 59, 78, 150

⁸²² Ticknor to Gayangos, May 1846, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.126

⁸²³ Ticknor to Gayangos, 20 Sept 1846, *ibid.*, p.100

⁸²⁴ Ticknor to Rich, June 1846. *ibid.*, p.249

have, whether I have asked for them or not.”⁸²⁵ In 1847, Ticknor now also wanted a collection of modern ballads “now in favour” and “a pretty large one”. Gayangos continued to comply.⁸²⁶ In 1848, Ticknor, now under more pressure for finishing his *History*, reminded Gayangos that all material “useful to my *History of the beautiful Literature of your nation*, must come quickly”.⁸²⁷ A last box before publication arrived by January 1849, just a few days before Ticknor was going to press “in earnest”.

The Gayangos parcels were the building bricks of Ticknor’s *History*. Selections included rarities otherwise missed. For example, Ticknor received through Gayangos a copy, “filling 1999 closely written folio pages” of *El libro del cavallero et del escudero* (1326),⁸²⁸ a relatively unknown work by Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), the author famous for his *Conde Lucanor* (1335). Significantly, Ticknor’s original *Syllabus of a course of lectures on the History and Criticism of Spanish Literature* (1823) did not include a discussion of this other manuscript provided by Gayangos. Ticknor’s account of Don Juan Manuel thus became more complete and drew further interest to the work: In 1893, the whole manuscript was edited by S. Gräfenberg, in 1955 a revised edition published in Spain.⁸²⁹ In modern-day surveys of medieval literature, this book is noticed as of real interest: it shows an original method of dialogue consisting of question and answer to convey a great deal of information. It is important too as it reveals the influence of other Spanish works, in

⁸²⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 1 June 1847, *ibid.*, p.145

⁸²⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 1 June 1847, *ibid.*, p.143

⁸²⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, May 1848, *ibid.*, p.159

⁸²⁸ TICKNOR, 1849, vol 1, p.64

⁸²⁹ GRÄFENBERG, “El Libro del cavallero et del escudero”, in *Romanische Forschungen*, VII, Erlangen, 1893. José María Castro and Martín Riquer, *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*, Barcelona 1955

particular Ramón Llull's *Libro del orden de la cavaylería*; the works of Alfonso X; Latin encyclopaedic sources.⁸³⁰

Ticknor's *History* became substantially richer because of Gayangos. Thanks to Gayangos, Prescott could opine that even a Spanish readership would find how Ticknor had "boldly entered the darkest corners of their literature, and dragged into light much that has hitherto been unknown."⁸³¹ Richard Ford gave Ticknor "infinite credit" for notice of the great number of rare and curious books.⁸³² Henry Hallam too was impressed by Ticknor's knowledge.⁸³³ And ultimately, the German writer and editor Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853), who had translated Don Quixote into German and considered himself a connoisseur of Spanish literature, admitted that he had "gained an endless amount of new information from it."⁸³⁴ For all this praise, Ticknor was clearly indebted to Gayangos' generosity and guidance in the provision of rare and unknown material.

But it was not just parcels. Letters reveal a dialogue with Gayangos the scholar not merely the book searcher. Ticknor had a genuine interest in Gayangos as a writer. He repeatedly invited him to send "everything you publish yourself,"⁸³⁵ When his *History* had come out, what Gayangos thought meant a great deal:

The approbation of such men as yourself and Mr. Hallam is the highest reward I can have for my labours, and contents me entirely...⁸³⁶

⁸³⁰ DEYERMOND, A., 1971, p.138-9

⁸³¹ Prescott to Ticknor, 19 May 1848, *Life, letters and journals of George Ticknor*, 1876, p.252

⁸³² Ford, *ibid.*, p.255.

⁸³³ Hallam to Ticknor, 10 Jan 1850, *ibid.*, p.258

⁸³⁴ Tieck, 28 July 1850, *ibid.* p.260. Tieck translated Don Quixote between 1799 and 1804.

⁸³⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, May 1848; 25 March 1860, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.159, 308

⁸³⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 5 March 1850, *ibid.*, p.197

Gayangos' approval of his *History* not only flattered and delighted Ticknor, but more importantly, it gave an imprimatur for a man who felt intellectually insecure:

The approbation you give to my History after having read and considered it, leaves me nothing to desire. If you think it is a good book, I do not know who will feel that he has authority to say, it is a bad one.⁸³⁷

To Ticknor, Gayangos represented the highest authority on the subject, and in Ticknor's preface, Gayangos alone among all the names mentioned is the only one described as an outstanding 'scholar':

He is among the most eminent scholars now living, and one to whose familiarity with whatever regards the literature of his own country the frequent references in my notes bear a testimony not to be mistaken.⁸³⁸

"Memoranda" and "epitomes" accompanied books and manuscripts sent to Ticknor.⁸³⁹ The relationship between Ticknor and Gayangos seems to follow the same pattern as with Prescott. To Prescott Gayangos had often sent material together with his own comments; thus helping Prescott understand it. That Ticknor greatly valued the same input is demonstrated by Ticknor's strong reaction to the loss of one of Gayangos' letters containing the "curious notes of old books and MSS in the National Library of Madrid". He hoped that he would receive from Gayangos a "dédommagement for the long letter".⁸⁴⁰ Letters give more specific information on the intellectual and creative input of Gayangos. For example, Ticknor wished to have a copy of the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, considered today as a landmark in early Castilian literature. It is essentially a translation of a French manuscript, telling the events of the crusades from the conquest of Antioch up to 1291. The Spanish

⁸³⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 March 1850, *ibid.*, p.201-2

⁸³⁸ TICKNOR, *History of Spanish Literature*, ed. 1863, p.xiv

⁸³⁹ E.g., the box sent in 1844, included some "manuscripts and memoranda". Ticknor to Gayangos, October 1845, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.108

⁸⁴⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 31 October 1848, *ibid.*, p.168

translation was enriched by many interpolations. Ticknor wanted a copy, but if not, he wondered whether Gayangos would give him “an account of its contents with some extracts and information how far it is a translation, and how far an original work.”⁸⁴¹ Could Gayangos tell him whether it was fiction, and what kind? A chivalric account? Was it really translated by Alfonso X? Ticknor’s questions certainly stimulated Gayangos to edit the whole manuscript, together with a learned introductory essay in the prestigious *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (1858).

Gayangos encouraged Ticknor to consider the Moorish dimension of Spain’s past. Ticknor’s first enquiry concerned a specific Morisco manuscript in Gayangos’ collection: the *aljamiado* ‘poem of José el Patriarca’, written in Spanish but in Arabic characters. Ticknor had seen the manuscript in Madrid in 1818, and owned some extracts made at the time by Conde. Now he wished to have a copy of the other manuscript that Gayangos possessed. He did not expect Gayangos to transcribe it, but hoped that some copyist would do it. The copy was duly made, and sent together with Gayangos’ own gloss. Ticknor acknowledged that: “the notes you have interleaved are extremely curious and valuable to me.”⁸⁴² Unfortunately lost, the comments of Gayangos contained something on the date and origin of the poem, but one can assume that his remarks were similar to the commentary on the poem, included in his article on Morisco literature (1839). There Gayangos had written that “if we are to judge by the class of metre used in it, by the simplicity of its action, and especially by the antiquated expressions with which it abounds, we do not hesitate to

⁸⁴¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 29 October 1842, *ibid*, p.64

⁸⁴² Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 Nov 1839, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.x

class [it] among the oldest poems in the Spanish language.” However, Gayangos added that the simplicity of the measure and its roughness were misleading:

if we consider that the author was a native of Aragon, as may easily be discovered by many of his words and idioms borrowed from the Limosin dialects, if we reflect that the improvements made in the Castilian language could not have been introduced but with comparative slowness in a foreign kingdom... we shall come to the conclusion that this composition is not so old as it would at first sight appear, and we may safely suppose it to have been written toward the middle of the fifteenth century.

In 1823, Ticknor, then under the influence of Antonio Conde, had indicated in his *Syllabus* that the manuscript was “written before 1200”.⁸⁴³ Now, in 1839, after having received Gayangos’ comments, he admitted that Conde’s date was too early, and reattributed it to around 1400. Gayangos reply further refined Ticknor’s view.

The remarks you make about the poem of José de Patriarca seem to me to be wholly just. I was particularly struck with the acuteness of what you say about the age of the poem, on the ground that the aljamiado writings are all in a style of language and composition, older than their real dates.⁸⁴⁴

Ticknor indicated in his *History* that the age and origin of the poem could only be settled by internal linguistic evidence. Following Gayangos, Ticknor argued that the many words and expressions peculiar to the border country of the Provençals suggested that the poem was written in Aragon; As dating, Ticknor concluded that the poem originated “probably in the latter half of the fourteenth century”. Ticknor would have done better if he had accepted Gayangos’ later date. Recent research suggests that the poem may be much later than the fourteenth century. Wieggers (1994), for instance, confirms Gayangos’ original date that it was written in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴³ TICKNOR, *Syllabus*, 1823, p.4

⁸⁴⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 May 1840, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.9

⁸⁴⁵ DEYERMOND, A., 1971, p.122. Deyermund referred to an unpublished paper by P.Harvey. NYKL, “*Compendium of Aljamiado Literature*”, *RH*, LXXVII 1929, pp.409-611. WIEGERS, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, 1994, pp.23-25

Gayangos also supplied Ticknor with answers to some very specific questions regarding the meaning of certain verses. Ticknor observed that Conde, his initiator to Spanish literature, had interpreted 'dijeles las oras' as a "confusion of Mohammedanism & Christianity & said las oras meant 'the offices of the Virgin'." He now wished to know from Gayangos whether this was possible.⁸⁴⁶ As a result of Gayangos' reply Ticknor rejected Conde's interpretation,⁸⁴⁷ and began to realise that "Conde's opinions, on this and other subjects, are wanting in critical acuteness and philosophy".⁸⁴⁸ It must have dawned on Ticknor that his early master was fallible and so he asked Gayangos for his full opinion on Conde. Gayangos certainly told Ticknor the same as he had told Ford and Prescott: Conde was a pioneer historian, who composed a first history of Moorish Spain from Arabic manuscripts, yet, this work was so full of inaccuracies and blunders that it was very unreliable. Gayangos' more critical approach thus enabled Ticknor to distance himself from Conde and correct some of Conde's mistakes. In short, the study of *aljamiado literatura* in Spain moved on as part of the dialogue between Gayangos and Ticknor.

Gayangos' notices on Morisco literature fascinated Ticknor. Gayangos' first letter to Ticknor contained "an account ... of other Morisco poems", which Ticknor appreciated as very "new and valuable". Subsequent letters from Gayangos really caught the Bostonian's interest. He was "almost anxious" to receive more information, and looked forward to get some more of "those observaciones curiosas relativamente a la literature Española, which you promise to send me". He insisted

⁸⁴⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 November 1839, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.7

⁸⁴⁷ TICKNOR, 1849, vol 1, p.88, n.34

⁸⁴⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 May 1840, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.10

that "Everything upon this subject interests me, and I place a singular value upon all I receive from you."⁸⁴⁹ Thus when Ticknor heard that Gayangos had just bought a 'curious' manuscript of 1610 written by an expelled Moor, he wished to have a copy. Transcripts were duly made and sent to Boston. Ticknor felt inspired and encouraged Gayangos to write again.

From the very start of their relationship Gayangos was an active presence in the scholarly life of Ticknor. Their discussion of Morisco literature certainly stimulated Ticknor to include more notices in his *History*. He printed Gayangos' transliteration of the *Poema de José* in an appendix to volume three,⁸⁵⁰ which was an important step in creating further awareness of *aljamiado* literature. It triggered further study by subsequent scholars: The manuscript (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid Ms. B) was copied and published by Heinrich Morf in 1883, and transcribed into Roman characters and analysed by M. Schmitz in detail in 1901.⁸⁵¹ Gayangos' own manuscript (Ms. A) was published by Menendez Pidal in 1904. In 1929, the historian A.R. Nykl stated in his *Compendium of aljamiado literature* that the *Poem of José* was the most studied and best known text of Morisco fiction.⁸⁵² The *Poem of José* received further attention by William W. Johnson (1974), who for the first time

⁸⁴⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 29 Dec 1841, *ibid.*, p.25

⁸⁵⁰ TICKNOR, 1849, vol.3, p.395

⁸⁵¹ MORF, *El Poema de José*, 1883. Morf also met Gayangos in 1878, which certainly encouraged him in his work on aljamiado texts. See, Morf to Gayangos, 27 March 1883, RAH, Gayangos papers, folder 4: « Vous aviez alors [1878] la bonté de faire passer devant mes yeux une grande partie de vos riches trésors surtout en fait de manuscrits aljamiados et d'accompagner ces démonstrations par des explications précieuses. » ;

SCHMITZ, "Über das altspanische Poema de José", *Romanische Forschungen IX*, pp. 357-410, 1901

⁸⁵² NYKL, 1929, pp.439-40

collated the two known manuscripts, and concluded that the *Poema de José* is the most outstanding work of *aljamiado* literature.⁸⁵³

In his *History*, Ticknor also drew the reader's attention to "other manuscripts of this sort".⁸⁵⁴ He inserted an extensive footnote on the two early seventeenth century Morisco manuscript copies he had received from Gayangos: The first was a poem in Latin script entitled *Discourse on the Light, and Descent, and Lineage of our Chief and Blessed Prophet, Mohammed Calam, composed and compiled by his Servant, who most needs his Pardon, Mohammed Rabadan, a Native of Rueda, on the River Xalon*". The poem contained eight histories compiled from earlier authors. Ticknor possessed one part, entitled, "History of Hexim", an ancestor of the Prophet Mohammed.⁸⁵⁵ Ticknor acknowledged that the poem was not without poetic merit, and "remarkably... Mohammedan in its general tone". Scholars today too acknowledge that the poem was written originally in *aljamiado*.⁸⁵⁶ In addition, Ticknor made the reader aware of the historical interest of the manuscript, reflecting on the poor status of the Moors in Spain. He drew attention to the preface of the Morisco author, who alluded to the difficulties and dangers involved in the compilation of early texts on Mohammed: The texts were "scattered... all over Spain, and lost and hidden through fear of the Inquisition." Ticknor's comments certainly triggered more interest in the manuscript: Between 1868 and 1873, the poem was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵³ JOHNSON, *The Poema de José, Romance Monographs*, n°6, 1974

⁸⁵⁴ TICKNOR, 1849, vol 1, p.88, n.33

⁸⁵⁵ There are two mss of this poem, both written in Latin characters: London, BM.Harley Ms 7501 (Saa68) and Paris, B.N.

⁸⁵⁶ WIEGER, 1994, p.181

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp.181-2.

Ticknor's comment on the other Morisco manuscript in prose by an expelled Moor (1603) draws attention to the cultural and mental decline of the expelled Moriscos in North Africa. Ticknor indicated that the manuscript was by an unknown writer who landed at Tunis with

above three thousand expelled of his unhappy countrymen, who, through the long abode of their race in a Christian land and under the fierce persecutions of the Inquisition, had not only so lost a knowledge of the rites and ceremonies of their religion, that it was necessary to indoctrinate them like children, but had so lost all proper knowledge of the Arabic, that it was necessary to do it through the Castilian. The Bashaw of Tunis, therefore, sent for the author, and commanded him to write a book in Castilian, for the instruction of these singular neophytes.⁸⁵⁸

This didactic manuscript related the history of a man's life and sufferings and was meant to educate and instruct the newly arrived Moriscos in their duties and faith of which they only preserved an obscure notion. Ticknor directly referred his readership to Gayangos' article on Morisco literature: "A more ample and satisfactory discussion of it [the manuscripts] occurs in a learned article in the 'British and Foreign Review', January, 1839."⁸⁵⁹ Gayangos, whose highest ambition it was to improve the knowledge of Islamic Spain, and encourage a general interest in Arabic studies, had thus succeeded in persuading Ticknor to include the Moorish dimension to his *History*. Behind the generous assistance of Gayangos to Ticknor, there was thus a conscious agenda. By deepening Ticknor's interest in the Moorish past, Gayangos ensured that *aljamiado* literature received much wider attention than his own article (1839). Thus, what he could not achieve from within Spain, he achieved

STANLEY, "Rabadan, Muhammad, Discurso de la Luz", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, III (1868), pp.81-104; IV (1870) pp.140-177; V (1871), pp.119-140, 303-337; VI (1873) pp.165-212

⁸⁵⁸ TICKNOR, 1849, vol 3, p.186

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.187-8

outside, where he used others, such as Ticknor and Ford to diffuse accurate and new information on Islamic Spain that would eventually trigger further studies.

Gayangos enabled Ticknor to be more precise and definite: For example, Ticknor's assertion that Miguel de Luna, author of *Verdadera Historia del Rey Rodrigo* (1589), was a "bold and scandalous forger". Gayangos had authoritatively confirmed José Antonio Conde's hunch that de Luna's book was not authentic. Ticknor was thus able to point out that Robert Southey who had written a biography on Rodrigo (*Roderick, the last of the Goths*, 1814) had been wrong in regarding the chronicle as a genuine history of the invasion and conquest of Spain. Ticknor also expressed some of Gayangos' deep frustration with Spanish scholarship by stating that the misinterpretation of Luna's writings was a "proof of the utter contempt and neglect into which the study of Arabic literature had fallen in Spain."⁸⁶⁰

Ticknor, like Ford, benefited from Gayangos' interest in etymology. Gayangos had settled the question of the origin and meaning of 'mozarabe', a key word in any discussion of medieval society in Spain:

Mozarabe, or Muyzarabe, as he [Gayangos] explains it, "is the Arabic Mustarab, meaning a man who tries to imitate or to become an Arab in his manners and language and who, though he may know Arabic, speaks it like a foreigner."⁸⁶¹

Gayangos too settled the date of important texts. Ticknor had read in Hallam's *Introduction to the History of Literature of Europe* (1837) that the *Poem of the Cid*, a corner stone of Spanish literature and legend, dated from 1095. Ticknor sceptical, approached Gayangos, and directed by him, gave an overview of the debate. He

⁸⁶⁰ TICKNOR, 1849, vol 1, p.196

⁸⁶¹ TICKNOR, 1863, vol. 3, p.347. Also NYKL, 1929, p.19: "Muzarabes – Christians outwardly arabicised living under Muslim rule... from the Arabic musta'rib."

concluded that it probably dated from the 12th century, the view today. Gayangos enabled Ticknor to suggest a possible relation between the *Chronicle of the Cid* and other Arabic texts:

If there is anything in the Chronicle of the Cid taken from documents in the Arabic language, such documents were written by Christians, or a Christian character was impressed on the facts taken from them. ... I learn that my friend Pascual de Gayangos possesses an Arabic chronicle that throws much light on this Spanish chronicle and on the life of the Cid.⁸⁶²

Gayangos was central in resolving the literary controversy surrounding the authenticity of the *Buscapié*. Some of the greatest intellectuals in Spain believed in Cervantes' authorship: Manuel Quintana, the Marques de Pidal, Roman Mesonero, but not Gayangos. He had written to Prescott:

They are selling on the street corners at the present time the Buscapié of Cervantes, said to have been discovered in Seville by a young man named Adolfo de Castro. All the world believes this account, but I am putting it in quarantine, because in the matter of discoveries of books – I am like St. Thomas – seeing is believing.⁸⁶³

Gayangos sent Ticknor a copy. Ticknor's first impression was that it was "a curious book – very creditable to the learning and talent of Don Adolfo de Castro". Yet Gayangos by now did not believe in it and so Ticknor wished to know from Gayangos "what evidence of any sort you have, - that the Buscapié is not the work of Cervantes?"⁸⁶⁴ Could Gayangos kindly send him the articles that had appeared in the press?⁸⁶⁵

Gayangos argued that de Adolfo de Castro's account of the history of the manuscript was not possible. De Castro had stated that his manuscript was a copy

⁸⁶² TICKNOR, 1849, p.153

⁸⁶³ Gayangos to Prescott, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.669

⁸⁶⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 July 1848, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.163

⁸⁶⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 2 April 1849, *ibid.*, p.174

after the original *Buscapié* done for Argote de Molina in 1606. However, Gayangos pointed out that Molina had died before 1600. Ticknor wished Gayangos to be more specific:

And tell me on what ground you suppose that Argote de Molina died before 1606 without children, and in what book Gutiérrez de Cetina gave an Aprobacion, dated as late as 1669. I shall discuss the *Buscapié* at some length... and these facts will be ... decisive. I agree with you that there never was a *Buscapié* by Cervantes, and have no doubt I can make out the case. Anything you may send me, I will carefully return.⁸⁶⁶

Through Gayangos, Ticknor dismissed de Castro. Since the whole argument derived from Gayangos, Ticknor enquired whether Gayangos would permit him to indicate him as the “authority for saying that the Ms does not seem to be genuine”. Gayangos declined because of his friendship with de Castro. Ticknor replied:

I cannot easily tell you, how much I feel indebted both to your kindness & to your promptness for everything has come in season to be useful and will be used. Of course I shall *not* mention your name or in any way refer to you: but I think, I shall be able to make out the case of the *Buscapié* without any allusion to the suspicious character of the MS. Again & again, I thank you very heartily for your kindness.⁸⁶⁷

Ticknor included a detailed discussion of the *Buscapié* in an appendix, but without mentioning Gayangos.⁸⁶⁸ He concluded that the *Buscapié* was a “pleasant, witty trifle”, showing much lively talent and a remarkable familiarity with the works of Cervantes, but not genuine:

If Don Adolfo wrote it, he has probably always intended, in due time, to claim it as his own, and he may be assured that, by so doing, he will add something to his own literary laurels without taking anything from those of Cervantes. If he did not write it, then he has, I think, been deceived in regard to the character of the manuscript, which he purchased under circumstances

⁸⁶⁶ *Idem.*

⁸⁶⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 12 June 1849, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.180

⁸⁶⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 Feb 1850, *ibid.*, p.195

that made him believe it to be what it is not. In any event, I find no sufficient proof that it was written by Cervantes⁸⁶⁹

Gayangos thus used Ticknor as his mouthpiece. Ticknor's remarks triggered a response. Ironically, De Castro, running out of arguments and unaware that Gayangos was behind Ticknor's criticism, rudely stated that Ticknor, as a foreigner, was not qualified to comment on the authenticity of any Spanish book.⁸⁷⁰ Only then did Gayangos intervene. In 1851, he declared in print in the Spanish edition of Ticknor's *History* that De Castro's *Buscapié* was a "literary toy". This settled the question for good.

To conclude, Gayangos operated on several levels with the *History*: he was crucial in the physical supply of material, but his assistance went much beyond simple provision. Gayangos' creative input began with the selection of material. What was sent broadened Ticknor's horizon making his *History* infinitely more ambitious than his teaching *Syllabus* (1823). Ticknor's notes on Morisco literature, including the extracts of the poem of Yusuf, were inspired by Gayangos. Ticknor's boldest claims, correcting statements of earlier writers and doubting the authenticity of the *Buscapié*, depended on him too. Ticknor's apparent range and much of his accuracy owed itself to Gayangos.

Motley, the American author of the hugely successful *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1855), whilst congratulating Ticknor on an "artistic manner" which made

⁸⁶⁹ in Appendix D, TICKNOR, 1863, vol.3, p.432

⁸⁷⁰ "Perdone Mr Ticknor, pero no reconozco en extranjero alguno, por muy grande que sea su erudición en cosas de España, la autoridad bastante para calificar de auténtico cualquiera de nuestros libros". TICKNOR, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, (transl. and annotated by Gayangos), 1854, vol.4, p.232

his book more entertaining and readable, valued above all the extracts of prominent works that Ticknor had given: "I cannot doubt that the work will always be the standard work upon the subject, and that it will turn the attention of many to a literature which has of later years been... neglected..."⁸⁷¹ Hallam, much impressed, acknowledged that "the book has evidently taken a position in which it both supersedes, for its chief purpose, all others, and will never be itself superseded.... More revealing perhaps, Hallam seemed astonished how Ticknor, as an American author, had so much knowledge of Spanish literature: "Your reach of knowledge is really marvellous in a foreigner."⁸⁷² Hallam perhaps sensed that behind Ticknor's production stood a Spanish scholar. The success of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* is in reality the result of the work of a tandem, with Ticknor in the front and Gayangos, less visible in the back, acting as a crucial navigator. Without Gayangos' scholarly advice, guidance and input, Ticknor's crown of laurels would have been much thinner.⁸⁷³

Gayangos went on collaborating with Ticknor after publication. Ticknor continued to invite Gayangos to make further additions of rare books and manuscripts to his library.⁸⁷⁴ In 1851, two years after the publication of his *History*, Ticknor still felt very grateful for Gayangos' "unwearied kindness – in purchasing Spanish books for me."⁸⁷⁵ Yet, there was a shift in the nature of Ticknor's attitude

⁸⁷¹ Motley to Ticknor, 29 December 1849, *ibid.*, p.257

⁸⁷² Hallam to Ticknor, 10 January 1850, *ibid.*, p.258

⁸⁷³ Ticknor was appointed honorary member of the *Society of Antiquaries* (London). *Life of Ticknor*, 1874, p.259

⁸⁷⁴ PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, pp.192, 229

⁸⁷⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 11 Feb 1851, *ibid.*, p.232

towards collecting. As his *History* was finished, Ticknor felt less “anxiety to buy,”⁸⁷⁶ and told Gayangos that he was “determined to stop purchasing Spanish books for a time”. He now wished to increase his library “in another & very different direction”,⁸⁷⁷ namely in German literature, his “old love”.⁸⁷⁸ However, Gayangos ensured that Ticknor resumed his enthusiasm for Spanish books and manuscripts. The reader may recall how Prescott had told Gayangos that he had sufficient material, Gayangos wrote straightforwardly to Prescott:

Our literature, my friend, is so little known, so vast and so scattered through the four quarters of the earth, that I find it hard to believe what you say in your letter..., namely that you now need nothing further.⁸⁷⁹

It is only likely that Gayangos had reacted to Ticknor’s fatigue in similar outspoken terms. The correspondence shows that Ticknor received through Gayangos much further material, both old books and new editions of old books, published in the *Documentos Indéditos*, *Memorial Histórico*, and Ribadeneyra’s *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Only when aged seventy eight, shortly before his death, did Ticknor once again ask Gayangos to stop sending books and subscriptions. Gayangos himself had suggested that because of political unrest in Spain, there was “little chance of anything new being produced worth your attention”.⁸⁸⁰

Intriguingly, Gayangos became still more important after the publication of the seminal work. Gayangos had offered to translate and edit it with his own annotations in Madrid.⁸⁸¹ Ticknor was delighted by the prospect: “I shall be very

⁸⁷⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 14 May 1850, *ibid.*, p.213

⁸⁷⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 11 Feb 1851, *ibid.*, p.230

⁸⁷⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 June 1851, *ibid.* p.241

⁸⁷⁹ Gayangos to Prescott, 24 November 1846, WOLCOTT, 1925, p.612

⁸⁸⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 17 Nov 1869, PENNEY, 1927, p.370

⁸⁸¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 5 Jan 1849, *ibid.*, p.170

proud to have you present me to your countrymen” he wrote.⁸⁸² But Gayangos had had rivals: two South Americans wanted to translate it but Ticknor talked them out of their project, as he preferred Gayangos.⁸⁸³

Once again then, we are presented with a similar pattern as emerged when we looked at the relationship between Gayangos and Prescott. Gayangos clearly had an acute and robustly independent mind, but it was a matter of temperament: Gayangos had been closely involved in Ticknor’s work for almost ten years, and certainly considered much of the *History* his own. However, there was little vanity in Gayangos’ make up. It was sufficient for such a cast of mind to think about getting involved in the context of his native country and through the format of a translation. He thus delegated the task of translating the text to his colleague Enrique Vedia, and himself focused on the extensive comments, which amplified and sometimes corrected Ticknor’s original text. From the beginning, Ticknor was very pleased with the idea that his history would be “enriched and improved in your [Gayangos’] hands”⁸⁸⁴. Ticknor naively underestimated the time Gayangos needed for the task. A few months after everything was agreed, Ticknor immediately ordered ten copies for himself, and wished Gayangos to distribute another ten “as you may think best, giving, however, one copy to the Academy of History”.⁸⁸⁵ However, Gayangos’ undertaking required several years to complete and could not be accomplished in the twinkling of an eye.

⁸⁸² Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 July 1848, *ibid.*, p.164

⁸⁸³ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 March 1850, *ibid.*, p.205, and also p.211

⁸⁸⁴ *Idem*

⁸⁸⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 12 June 1849, *ibid.*, p.185

Some might argue that Gayangos saw the translation as a lucrative enterprise to boast his academic income. In 1850, Ticknor wrote how he hoped that Gayangos would be able to control the sale in Spain and “to profit, if any profit can be had.”⁸⁸⁶ It was not to be. Evidence suggests that Gayangos got involved in the launch of the book, but sales were very slow.⁸⁸⁷ For example, by January 1853, a librarian in Córdoba had acquired six volumes; it had been announced in the local newspaper, but only two had been sold, one to the *Biblioteca Provincial*, and one to Borja Pavón, a bibliophile and Gayangos’ contact in Córdoba.⁸⁸⁸ Indeed so far from gain, there was the spectre of loss. Ticknor wrote in August 1852:

I am sorry to learn that you have been put to inconvenience by your advances for printing your translation and I should be still more sorry if the inconvenience were likely to be permanent. But the arrangement with Baudry, added to the sale in Spain, will, as you assure me, reimburse you for all your expenses; and I trust, that, subsequently, you may obtain a profit which shall remunerate Señor Vedia and yourself for your labours.⁸⁸⁹

By 1853, only two volumes had been printed. It was clear enough the book would not make Gayangos rich. That the whole enterprise was not aborted confirms Gayangos’ perseverance in the name of scholarship and of the glory of his country, not in money making.

What then were the merits of Gayangos’ translation? Was the *Historia de la Literatura Española* a significant amplification and improvement? Gayangos’ extensive notes certainly enlarged the original book and made it look altogether different. It now comprised four instead of three volumes; each volume containing

⁸⁸⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 26 May 1850, *ibid.*, p.216

⁸⁸⁷ DÍAZ, 1948, p.16

⁸⁸⁸ “...esta patria de Séneca está a tal punto de caída, que sólo se han expendido dos ejemplares.”

Borja Pavón to Gayangos, 6 January 1853, Córdoba, *ibid.*, p. 17

⁸⁸⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 August 1852, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.253

between sixty and a hundred pages of commentary;⁸⁹⁰ including new extracts of Spanish literature not included in the original. Ticknor's book had had the great merit of attempting a chronological history of Spanish literature, with its characteristics, different tendencies and influences, presented in a clear and structured format. However, the text often reads like a catalogue much like Stirling's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. Gayangos, then added more detailed and analytical substance to individual works, often expressing his own views. Frequently these were independent from Ticknor. The most extensive notes were made in the first and second volume. There, for example, Gayangos added an extensive argument on the *Conquista de Ultramar*, doubting Ticknor's assumption that certain parts of the 1503 edition were interpolations. Gayangos made further acute observations on the physical nature of that manuscript, drawing attention to its high quality, and the two illuminations and the other blank spaces for illuminations, which were important as they revealed the character and status of the owner of the manuscript. Gayangos also described in more detail the content of the manuscript. His note is altogether much longer than Ticknor's account in the main text, giving it more scholarly backbone. Another example of how Gayangos improved Ticknor's original book is his note on one of Spain's first writers, Don Juan Manuel. Gayangos explained in more detail than Ticknor the contents of a manuscript as well as its physical aspects.

He also added a note on a manuscript by Juan Manuel not mentioned by Ticknor: *Enxiemplo de los dos Compañeros*. In Gayangos' note Spaniards could read for the first time extracts from this work.⁸⁹¹ Gayangos also refined Ticknor's takes on certain genres. For example, in his note on *Cancioneros*. Ticknor had remarked that

⁸⁹⁰ TICKNOR, *Historia*, 1851, Vol 1, pp. 492-573, Vol 2, pp. 483-562; 1856, Vol 4, pp. 396-431

⁸⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-505

the court of John II disliked popular poetry so that 'romances' were not included in the collection of *cancioneros* at that time. Gayangos, however, corrected Ticknor's view by adding that although the famous *Cancionero de Baena* did not include *romanceros*, many other *cancioneros* did. In order to prove the point he added extracts from three romanceros taken from the *Cancionero* de Lope de Stuñiga and the *Cancionero* de Ixar.⁸⁹² He also added a discussion on the influence of Arabic verse on Spanish poetry, something that Ticknor had not really considered. Gayangos rejected Reinhart Dozy's view (*Recherches sur l'histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne pendant le moyen age*, Leiden, 1849) that Arabic poetry was too sophisticated for a popular audience, and therefore could have no bearing on Spanish popular poetry. Gayangos argued that Dozy's view was too absolute and that the Arabs did have a

poesía vulgar al alcance de las masas del pueblo, y que esta poesía produjo cantares, cuyo character y asunto tuvo ciertos puntos de contacto con la poesía vulgar española, atendida la diferencia de origen, religion y costumbres.⁸⁹³

Gayangos then went on to prove his point over three pages: he enumerated a few convincing examples of Arabic influence on Spanish poetry, such as a passage in Arabic written in Spanish characters and extracted from a rare manuscript of the *Crónica General*.⁸⁹⁴ In addition, examples of Arabic poetry written in vulgar language definitely proved Dozy's view incorrect.

Ticknor's *History* thus became for Gayangos an opportunity to express important and distinct view of his own. Notes and commentaries were also a most efficient way of publishing research, rather than scattering the seed in articles. In

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.509-514

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp.514-515

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.515

Ticknor's *History* Gayangos' writings attracted more attention than would otherwise have been the case: in short, this was the way in which his scholarship would live on outside Spain.

Gayangos stimulated Ticknor to prepare a second English edition. Gayangos corrected Ticknor's first edition; just as he had done with that other great English language publication on Spanish culture, Ford's *Handbook*. Ticknor rejoiced: "I thank you very much for your corrections & pray you to send me all you notice. I preserve everything of that sort, with great care, for future use."⁸⁹⁵ Enthused and made more confident by Gayangos, Ticknor made additions and corrections, which he wished to insert in the Spanish translation, but only if Gayangos approved of them. If not, Gayangos should make "any corrections that you may deem advisable in the notes I send you". More importantly, Ticknor placed great value on Gayangos' own additions that would "enrich the work".⁸⁹⁶ He was thus very keen to include them in the German translation and begged Gayangos to send them to Dr. Nicholas Heinrich Julius, his German translator, who would be "very glad to profit by your notes."⁸⁹⁷ Ticknor was pleased that the notes arrived just "in season to be used",⁸⁹⁸ before the first volume went into print in November 1851,⁸⁹⁹ enriched with further notes by Ferdinand Wolf of the Imperial Library of Vienna. Both the German and Spanish translations turned out to be great improvements on Ticknor's original

⁸⁹⁵ One correction concerned "a gross blunder" regarding the Marquis of Santillana. Ticknor to Gayangos, 26 May 1850; 30 August 1852, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, pp.218, 252

⁸⁹⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 20 Feb 1854, *ibid.*, p.260

⁸⁹⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 14 May 1850, 11 Feb 1851, *ibid.*, p.212, 234

⁸⁹⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 August 1852, *ibid.*, p.252

⁸⁹⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 6 April 1852, *ibid.*, p.249.

book.⁹⁰⁰ Ticknor was delighted with Gayangos' notes. After having read the first volume of Gayangos' translation, Ticknor announced:

Your notes to my book have given me much pleasure; and I shall use them freely when I print another edition of it either here or in England.⁹⁰¹

Gayangos rekindled Ticknor's interest in research.⁹⁰² Allusions made in letters during the preparation of the second volume of the Spanish edition, to research work in the British Museum and in some private libraries in London, caught Ticknor's attention. Ticknor hoped that Gayangos was going to send him "notices of those curious books in the rich libraries you visited in London."⁹⁰³ Thus inspired by Gayangos, Ticknor travelled through Europe in 1857: visiting public and private holdings and purchasing additional material. He kept Gayangos informed of all this. In Rome in January 1857, Ticknor wrote that he had a "good deal of work in the libraries, [...] especially in the Vatican", where, for example he had found an early copy of *Tirant lo Blanch* (Valencia, 1490).⁹⁰⁴ However, a little later his enthusiasm had faded and he admitted that Roman collections of books and manuscripts were disappointing.⁹⁰⁵ Encouraged by Gayangos, Ticknor then planned to visit the British Museum and some of the smaller private libraries in London,⁹⁰⁶ such as the Samuel

⁹⁰⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 16 Feb 1853, *ibid.*, p.257. "It contains some very good things by him [Julius] and Wolf, besides all your notes."

⁹⁰¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 June 1851, *ibid.*, p.244

⁹⁰² Ticknor to Gayangos, 6 Aug 1855: "I have read with profit more than once your notes... They contain much interesting and curious matter, ... which I shall use in a new Edition of the original after the fourth volume of your Translation comes out", *ibid.*, p.266

⁹⁰³ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 Dec 1855, *ibid.*, p.268

⁹⁰⁴ Ticknor to Gayangos, 15 Jan 1857, *ibid.*, p.275

⁹⁰⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 9 June 1857, *ibid.*, p.278

⁹⁰⁶ "... I shall work with Mr. Watts in the British Museum and shall be very glad to see the collection of Mr. Turner.... And when I am in Naples and Paris I shall try to find all I can of the old Spanish Literature, that I may make another edition of my book more complete when I return to America. I have already collected a good deal for it, besides all that you furnish in your very valuable notes." Ticknor to Gayangos, 2 Dec 1856, *ibid.*, p.275

Turner library, one of the most important in Europe.⁹⁰⁷ Gayangos provided a letter of introduction to Turner, and also to the Duc d'Aumale in Twickenham, the fourth son of Louis-Philippe and owner of a spectacular library in London. Ticknor was delighted with both. He spent two days making notes of what he "found curious in its content" in the library of the latter, but concluded that it was not an exclusively Spanish collection, and not to be compared to Lord Holland's library, nor to that of Mr. Turner."⁹⁰⁸

After his return to Boston, Ticknor began to work on a new edition, taking into account his own researches and acquisitions made in Europe, as well as the Spanish notes, together with the German by Julius and Wolf.⁹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, Gayangos had promised to send a "memoranda" in relation to Ticknor's second edition, and Ticknor urged him send "without delay and to continue to do so if he had anything more to add."⁹¹⁰ Unfortunately, since this memoranda is lost we can not judge its impact on Ticknor's second edition. Yet, it demonstrates again that Gayangos was closely involved. None of Ticknor's other aides, such as Julius or Wolf, ever made similar efforts. Due to Prescott's death (1858), Ticknor interrupted his new edition to write his life of Prescott (1864). The second edition was thus delayed till 1863. But it was a correction and enlargement, which owed much to Gayangos. As Ticknor admitted:

I refer especially to the very ample notes of Don Pascual de Gayangos, of the University of Madrid, in the Spanish translation of this History published at Madrid by him and Don Enrique de Vedia between 1851 and 1856, and to the German translation by Dr. N.H. Julius, of Hamburg, published at Leipzig in

⁹⁰⁷ See RODRIGUEZ MOÑINO, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the Hispanic Society of America*, 1966, p.63. Also, *Bibliotheca Turneriana. Catalogue of the first portion of the library of the late Robert Samuel Turner*. 1888

⁹⁰⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 5 Jan 1859, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.286

⁹⁰⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 5 Jan 1858, *ibid.*, p.284

⁹¹⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 25 April 1859, *ibid.*, p.291

1852, and enriched not only with notes by himself, but with others by Dr. Ferdinand Wolf... From the results of their labors, carefully prosecuted, as they were, in the best libraries of Spain and Germany, I have taken – with constant acknowledgments, which I desire here gratefully to repeat – everything that, as it has seemed to me, could add value, interest, or completeness to the present revised edition.⁹¹¹

The new index featured over twenty-seven references to Gayangos, but there are only a few references to Julius and Wolf.

How did Ticknor's second edition differ from the first? According to his preface, newly acquired material had allowed him to rewrite the lives of Garcilasso de la Vega, Luis de Leon, Cervantes and Lope de Vega, which in itself represented a significant change. Ticknor also incorporated the Gayangos notes, however, not in full. Already in 1851, he had made an interesting distinction: "It will be necessary to abridge them, as they are calculated for the meridian of Spain and not for that of the United States."⁹¹² This Ticknor did and so kept the original format of three volumes.

Ticknor not only took into account the Spanish notes by Gayangos, but also his most recent publications; Gayangos' article that had appeared in the *Revista de Ambos Mundos* in 1855 on the historian Diego de Valera (1412?-188?), author of the important *Crónica abreviada*, which had gone through nine more fifteenth century editions after its first publication in 1482. Ticknor referred the reader to Gayangos for more detailed information on Valera.⁹¹³

In addition, Ticknor drew attention to Gayangos' extensive work on chivalric literature: *Libros de caballerías. Con un discurso preliminar y un catálogo razonado por don Pascual de Gayangos* published in the prestigious *Biblioteca de Autores*

⁹¹¹ TICKNOR, 1863, p.ix-x

⁹¹² Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 June 1851, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.244

⁹¹³ Gayangos: "Life and works of Valera", *REAM*, 3, 1855, p.294-312. TICKNOR, 1863, p.167.

Españoles, (1857). There Gayangos had edited the first parts of *Amadis of Gaule*, Spain's first and most important cycle of romances of chivalry (12 books). In a long introductory essay Gayangos discussed the origin, composition and style of the work, and included for the first time a genealogical table of the *Amadis* family to facilitate the understanding of the relations between the different protagonists of the twelve books. Gayangos' *catalogue raisonné* provided a first survey of Spanish chivalric literature as a whole, which enabled Ticknor to establish that the chivalric account *Leandro el Bel* was not a continuation of the *Amadis* cycle. It belonged to another separate collection of chivalric stories. Ticknor also admitted that until Gayangos' publication he had not been aware of how difficult it was to trace the origins of *Amadis de Gaule*. Ticknor could not include all of Gayangos' points, but insisted that in Gayangos' work there was an "important discussion on the books of chivalry, ... full of information and instruction."⁹¹⁴

Ticknor's English edition clearly benefited from Gayangos' annotated translation as well as from his recent publications, and therefore represented an improvement on his first edition. However, in comparison to the Spanish translation, Ticknor's new edition was not as meticulous. Ticknor had judged Gayangos' detailed and long notes unsuitable for the American audience. For the scholar, however, the Spanish edition, with its in-depth discussion on certain works, represented a more interesting version of Ticknor's original.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.223, p.140

Ticknor, like Ford and Prescott, felt much in debt to Gayangos and so enquired whether he could be of any use in return. Gayangos then suggested that Ticknor helped him to find and purchase certain rare Spanish books in Boston.

Ticknor was very eager to help:

You suggest that it may be possible for me to purchase occasionally a book for you in America, that you would be glad to possess. Be assured it will give me the greatest pleasure to do so

In addition, Ticknor was willing to exchange books, if Gayangos wished. He assured Gayangos that he would be “most happy to serve” him “in any and every way” he could. Ticknor was acutely aware of his debt.

Certainly you deserve at my hands whatever I can do, for your kindness to me and my friend Prescott has been great and we both of us feel it very sincerely.⁹¹⁵

Through Ticknor in Boston, and Ford in London, Gayangos tried to purchase the works of seventeenth-century authors, Alonso Castillo de Solórzano and Salas Barbadillo. Ticknor promised to “look out for books for you. Perhaps, I shall find some in New-York.”⁹¹⁶ However, just as with Ford, so too there is no evidence that Ticknor succeeded. Sometimes Ticknor drew attention to material:

I saw the other day, in the State Library, two volumes... *Annales Regum Mauritaniae a condito Idrisidarum Imperio ad annum fugae 726. ab Abu l Hasan Ali Ben Abd Allah Ibn Abi Zer Fesano.. Abu ...ed. Carlus Johannes Tornberg. Upsalae, 1843, 2 vol. The first Arabic, about 350 pages, the second Latin, translation, notes, about 420 p. If you do not know the book, I thought you might like to have notice of it, but I dare say I may be sending coals to Newcastle.*⁹¹⁷

Gayangos also benefited from Ticknor's correspondence with other European intellectuals and helped to keep his collaborator informed about other projects. For instance, in 1851: “Do you know know that Dr. W.L. Holland of Stuttgard proposed

⁹¹⁵ Ticknor to Gayangos, 28 April 1845, PENNEY, *Ticknor*, 1927, p.103

⁹¹⁶ Ticknor to Gayangos, 23 March 1846, *ibid.*, p.115

⁹¹⁷ Ticknor to Gayangos, 2 april 1849, *ibid.*, p.179

to publish the Chronicle of Alonso de Palencia? But I fear he will not do it.”⁹¹⁸

Gayangos sometimes specifically wished to know Ticknor’s opinion on new publications in America, such as Irving’s *Life of Mohammed* (1849). Ticknor had not read it but was able to gauge its reception:

good judges who have read it, think it is a beautifully written and interesting life of great research. It lays no claims to original or new materials, or to the least Oriental learning.⁹¹⁹

Perhaps more importantly, through Ticknor, Gayangos was able to widen his contacts within American society. Like Ford, Ticknor often introduced Anglo-American travellers.⁹²⁰ It was only in Gayangos’ nature to receive these visitors with great generosity.

When William Prescott (Prescott’s son) went to see Gayangos in Madrid in 1850, he was impressed and spoke in all his letters of Gayangos’ “great kindness to him.”⁹²¹ In 1860, Ticknor suggested Gayangos met “a young Saxon of uncommon learning and promise, who is about to visit Madrid, in the service of the Prussian Government, for the purpose of collecting materials for the Corpus Inscriptionum, now publishing by the Academy of Berlin... I knew him ... at Rome in the winter of 1856-7, and earlier I had known his family in Dresden. Excellent and interesting people.”⁹²² This was the German classical scholar Emil Hübner (1834-1901), appointed in 1870 professor of classical philology at Berlin University and author of *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae* (1869) and other works.

⁹¹⁸ Ticknor to Gayangos, 24 June 1851, *ibid.*, p.239

⁹¹⁹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 April 1849, *ibid.*, p.207

⁹²⁰ Ticknor to Gayangos, 18 Feb 1850, *ibid.*, pp.194-195

Also, Ticknor to Gayangos, 1 March 1857, *ibid.*, p.276

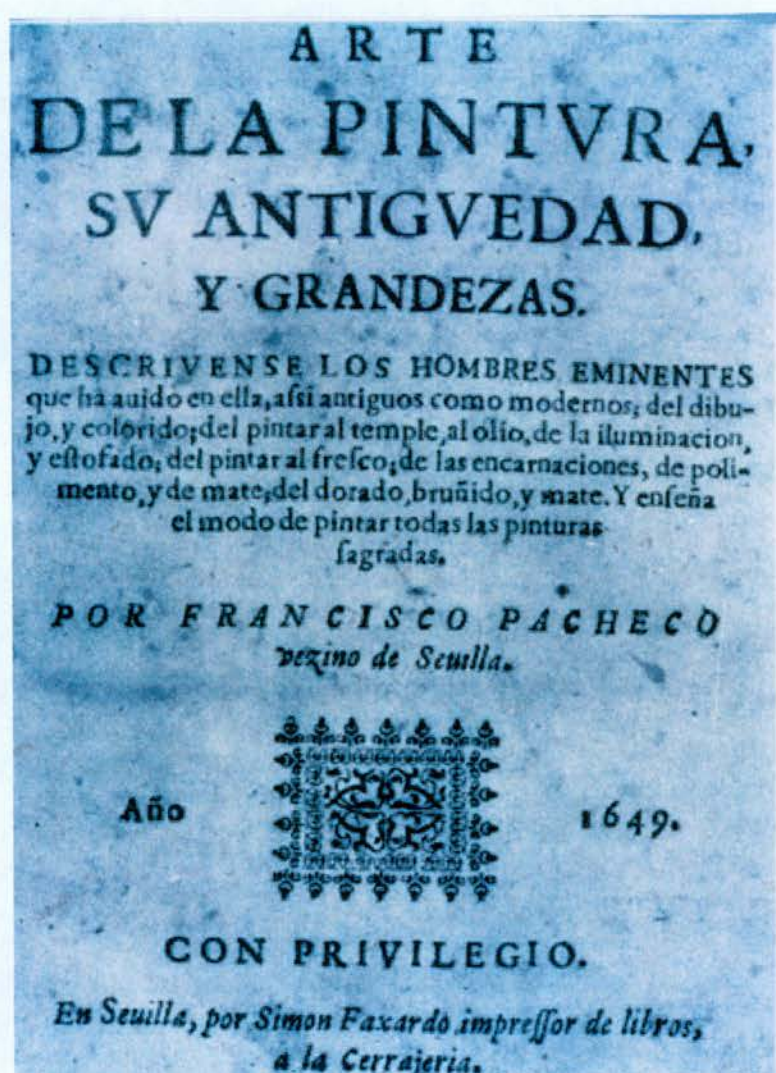
⁹²¹ Ticknor to Gayangos, 30 April 1850, and 31 October 1848, *ibid.*, pp. 208, 165

⁹²² Ticknor to Gayangos, 23 March 1860, *ibid.*, p.306

To conclude, Gayangos also benefited from his collaboration with Ticknor. Ticknor's work was an excellent context in which to include much of his own research, where it could live on. In contrast to Ticknor, Gayangos clearly stands out as a more meticulous scholar, with a more critical approach towards established writers and a man able to form his own views. To Gayangos, Ticknor's book became an important medium to promote scholarship, something that was more difficult to achieve within Spain. Furthermore, Ticknor, the well-connected Bostonian, represented to Gayangos a vital line of communication with Anglo-American intellectual life and society. Gayangos was an excellent net-worker. The next chapter will demonstrate how yet another outstanding Hispanist ended up eating out of Gayangos' hands: Sir William Stirling Maxwell.



William Stirling-Maxwell (1818-1878)
R.B. Parkes, after a portrait by George Richmond, Engraving.



Title page: *Arte de la Pintura* by Francisco Pacheco, 1649

Chapter 7: Gayangos and Sir William Stirling-Maxwell

In 1849 the historian William Stirling (later Stirling-Maxwell, 1818-1878; plate XI) joined the triumvirate of Ford, Ticknor and Prescott in their dependency on Gayangos. This made Gayangos conductor of a remarkable quartet. Stirling was nine years Gayangos' junior. He had just published his ambitious three-volume history of Spanish artists, the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), the first comprehensive book on the arts in Spain from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. In addition Stirling edited two separate volumes of talbotype illustrations, which were the first photographs of Spanish paintings included in a book. Stirling's *Annals of the Artists of Spain* enjoyed immediate success, just like Ford's *Handbook* or Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*. Also like Ford and Prescott, Stirling did not live from his pen. He relied on huge financial resources. In 1847, as the only son of Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir, he was able to rely on huge financial resources. In 1865, by the death of his uncle, Sir John Maxwell, he succeeded to his baronetcy, and assumed the additional name of Maxwell. However, in contrast to Prescott, who never set foot on Spanish soil, Stirling was deeply immersed in Spanish culture. His *Annals* were the result of study trips through Spain in 1841, 1842 and 1845. Stirling was also an important collector of Spanish cultural material: his paintings represent the first important private collection in Britain. He also collected manuscripts and rare books dealing with Spanish art, literature and history. Some referred to him as the "Emperor of Bibliophiles".⁹²³

⁹²³ Van der Weyer to Stirling, 20 March 1870, MLG, T-SK. 29/51/190

Stirling's passion for Spanish culture coupled with his intellectual projects on the history and the arts of Spain, automatically led him to Pascual de Gayangos. The pattern of their relationship was similar to that between Ford and Ticknor. The contributions Gayangos made were fundamental, varied, and persistent. Gayangos not only helped Stirling to add significant works to his library, but he also made key contributions to his historical writings, in particular to the biography of Don John of Austria, published in 1883, five years after Stirling's death: *Don John of Austria, or Passages from the history of the sixteenth century, 1547-1578*. This chapter will examine the nature of their relationship and assess the significance of the assistance that Stirling received.

From the outset, manuscripts and rare books formed the main subject of their correspondence. The first exchange of letters was probably initiated by a personal meeting in May 1849 in Madrid.⁹²⁴ Richard Ford encouraged Stirling to visit Gayangos during his trip through Spain, writing on 24 April:

I wish you would call at 36 Calle de Alcalá on Pascual de Gayangos, & ask him why he does not write to me. I also advise you to have a close look at his topographical books.⁹²⁵

Stirling did meet Gayangos in Madrid. The correspondence that followed indicates that the discussion gravitated around rare books relevant to art, architecture, society and history of the Spanish Golden Age. On 29 May 1849 Stirling headed off to Southern Spain and Portugal, leaving a wish-list of rare books with Gayangos. From Cintra, Stirling wrote to enquire whether he had been able to find anything.

⁹²⁴ Stirling entered Spain from the north, reached Madrid on 3 May 1849, left on 10 May for Alcalá de Henares, Cuenca and Guadalajara, returned to Madrid on 15 May, left on 29 May. MLG, Diary, T-SK 28/11

⁹²⁵ Ford to Stirling, 24 April 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/57/15. See also T-SK 29/57/10-18: Initially, Ford was going to accompany Stirling.

Gayangos replied that he had sent the books he had been able to acquire for Stirling, to his friend Adolfo de Castro at Cadiz, “the author or editor, as he styles himself, of the *Buscapié* de Cervantes”,⁹²⁶ to whom reference has been made in the previous chapter. Gayangos assumed that Stirling was going to pass through Cádiz on his return from Portugal, and thus could pick the parcel up from de Castro:

He is a well informed young man, and you will be glad of his acquaintance. He will take you over to two or three libraries in Cadiz, where you will meet with more than one delicious portada. He lives in Calle de Villalobos N° 4 at his father in law's Brigadier Herrera Davila. I have written to him to inform him of your arrival, and he will give you the two afroresaid volumes, besides one or two copies of the Cancioneiro if you wish to have them.⁹²⁷

The parcel included various rare books that were of consequence to Stirling's literary endeavours: a copy of Juan de Torrija's architectural treatise on vaults: *Breve tratado de todo genero de bobedas así regulares como irregulares ejecucion de obrarla y medirlas, con singularidad y modo moderno observando los preceptos canteriles de los maestros de arquitectura* (1661). Given its contribution to the understanding of the architecture of that time, it has been reedited in Valencia in 1961. The book was extremely rare, and it was thanks to Gayangos' contact with the painter Valentin Carderera (1796-1880) that he obtained the copy. Another book was a rare biography of Saint Nicolas Factor (1520-1583): *Libro de la vida y obras maravillosas del siervo de Dios... Fray N. Factor, de la orden de San Francisco, de la regular observancia de Valencia*, first published in 1588 by Christoval Moreno. This source proved to be useful to Stirling's historical work on Charles V, *Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V* (1852). In the chapter dealing with the death of the Infanta Juana, princess of Brazil, Stirling explained that shortly after the death of the Infanta, Factor beheld

⁹²⁶ Gayangos to Stirling, 17 July 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/5/116

⁹²⁷ *Idem*.

her in a vision, which he took for a sign that she was already released from the pains of purgatory.⁹²⁸ The inclusion of such detail greatly enhanced the richness of Stirling's historical account, reflecting on the importance of visionary experiences by canonised figures and the religious context at the time.

Gayangos also enclosed four copies of a limited edition of "Varnhagen's *Canciones*". Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen (1816-1878) was the author of several works on the history of Brazil and editor of a series of romances in Portuguese.⁹²⁹ The edition to which Gayangos alluded might correspond to Pedro Barcellos' *Trovas e cantares de um codice do XIV seculo : ou, antes, mui provavelmente, O livro das cantigas, d. 1350*, edited by Varnhagen in 1849.⁹³⁰

Knowing Stirling's taste for emblems, Gayangos promised him that de Castro would take him over to two or three libraries in Cádiz where he would "meet with more than one delicious *portada*."⁹³¹ However, according to Stirling's diary, he did not go to Cádiz and so never met de Castro and did not collect the books. De Castro returned the parcel to Gayangos, who then sent them off from Madrid to Britain. This first transaction marked the beginning of a long collaboration that ended only with the death of Stirling in 1878. The books that Gayangos had sent to de Castro represented only a small portion of Stirling's wish-list and Gayangos promised:

I will keep a sharp look out for the other books you want and I have no doubt that with time and patience I shall be able to procure you some of them.⁹³²

In addition, Gayangos recommended to Stirling two booksellers in London, who might have the books.

⁹²⁸ STIRLING, *Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V*, 1852, pp.237-8.

⁹²⁹ E.g. VARNHAGEN, *Considérations géographiques sur l'histoire du Brésil*, 1857; *Da litteratura dos livros de cavallarias*, 1816-1878.

⁹³⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 17 July 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/5/116

⁹³¹ *Idem*.

⁹³² *Idem*.

You can get them either through my bookseller, O.[badiah] Rich 12 Red Lion Square, or else through Baillière, a French bookseller who had an agent in this town.⁹³³

Thus by July 1849, two months only after meeting Stirling in Madrid, Gayangos was actively looking for books and manuscripts, and introducing him to a circle of editors, writers and booksellers in Spain, and even in Britain.

Through Gayangos, Stirling obtained the most significant rare books on the arts in the Spanish Golden Age. A series of letters from 1849 to 1867 concern Francisco Pacheco, the master of Velázquez and author of the treatise on painting *Arte de la Pintura* (1649; plate XII), the most valuable source for art historical studies of seventeenth century Spain.⁹³⁴ In the nineteenth century, its importance was acknowledged. Richard Ford qualified it as “a perfect and most splendid work [...] one of the rarest artistic books in any language.”⁹³⁵ Since the early 1840s Stirling had tried to purchase a copy,⁹³⁶ but this was difficult since the treatise was indeed very rare. During his preparation for his *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, Stirling had to rely on a copy of the treatise from the library of Richard Ford.⁹³⁷ Sir Edmund Head, a contemporary writer on Spanish art, too, borrowed Ford’s copy of Pacheco.⁹³⁸ Given its importance and rarity, Stirling wished to acquire a copy for his own library, and even wanted to publish a new edition of it.⁹³⁹ But the prospects were not good. A

⁹³³ *Idem.*

⁹³⁴ The treatise forms part of any standard bibliography on Spanish art of the Golden Age. See BROWN, *The Golden Age of Painting in Spain*, 1999. pp. 6, 121-3, 304. Also, *Fuentes Literarias para la Historia del Arte Español* by SANCHEZ CANTON, 1832, vol II.

⁹³⁵ Ford to Stirling, 14 December, [1846 or 48]. MLG, T-SK, I, 31, Box 5

⁹³⁶ Stirling had been looking for a copy for five or six years. Draft to Merrieffield, 26 September 1849, MLG, T-SK I. 31/ Box 5.

⁹³⁷ Ford to Stirling, 14 December, 1846 [or 48], MLG, T-SK, I, 31, Box 5

⁹³⁸ Ford to Head, February 1847: “Your artistic rival Stirling wishes to have Pacheco for a few days” MLG, T-SK 20.57.164

⁹³⁹ Stirling to Merrieffield, 26 September 1849. MLG, T-SK 31/Box: He wished to edit the treatise, using the new “litho-typographic process by which a facsimile of a book may be obtained at a

friend writing from Valencia in 1849 informed him that Pacheco was "hardly to be found in Spain at the present time."⁹⁴⁰ Stirling tried to purchase a copy of the treatise from Bartolomé José Gallardo, the renowned bibliophile and an old liberal of the Cádiz group, who was in exile in London from 1814 to 1820.⁹⁴¹ Gallardo possessed two copies, but was reluctant to sell. Upon Stirling's report of the failed attempt, Gayangos commented on 17 July 1849:

I was very much amused by your description of the old bibliomaniac's haunt, and it is really very unkind of him, considering he is under obligations to you, not to let you have one of his two Pacheco's.

As usual, Gayangos was never short of constructive advice. He suggested that Stirling should offer Gallardo something in return:

Have you not got anything to tempt him in the shape of engravings or portraits that he has not; some secondhand new publication that he should covet. He cares not, as you know, for books in good condition, for if he did, he would not have given away the prints and portraits from them.⁹⁴²

Perhaps as a result of this suggestion, Gallardo did indeed sell Stirling one of the copies alluded to in this letter. However, Stirling, bent on republishing the treatise, was not satisfied with the copy from Gallardo since it was "too bad to make a print of it."⁹⁴³ He needed a copy which was not too valuable either, since the reprographic process would destroy it. In September 1849, he approached Mrs Merrieffield (1804/5-1885), author of *Original treatises, dating from the XII and XVIII centuries, on the arts of painting...* (1849), a book which was something of a milestone in the publication of primary texts on materials and methods of artistic practice, a work,

comparatively trifling expense... The only drawback to the invention is that it involves the sacrifice of the parent book, ... I feel that I am perhaps taking an unwarrantable liberty in asking if you are disposed thus to immolate your Pacheco, in order that he may multiply his almost extinct species."

Mrs. Merrifield agreed, Merrieffield to Stirling, 18 October 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/5/129

⁹⁴⁰ Watson Taylor to Stirling, 18 May 1849. MLG, T-SK 29/5/160

⁹⁴¹ LLORENS, 1979, p.16

⁹⁴² Gayangos to Stirling, 17 July 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/5/116

⁹⁴³ Stirling to Merrieffield, 26 September 1849. MLG, T-SK 31/Box.

still important indeed for its full and adequate translations and comments; so much so that it has recently merited republication in its original form (1999).⁹⁴⁴ Stirling knew that Mrs. Merrieffield owned a copy of Pacheco, which he thought adequate for his project, as in “condition of fatigue” but still good enough to make a print of it.⁹⁴⁵ She agreed with Stirling that the treatise was “far too valuable to be limited to the book shelves of a few collectors,”⁹⁴⁶ and thus welcomed the idea. However, the copy in her library had been given back to the original owner. Although the owner agreed to give the copy to Stirling, there is no documentary evidence that the transfer actually happened.⁹⁴⁷

Stirling continued his search. In December 1849, Gallardo wrote to him that he had heard that Gayangos had a better copy than the one he had given to Stirling,⁹⁴⁸ and a little later, Gayangos himself informed Stirling that he had purchased a “perfect and clean copy” of Pacheco’s *Arte de la Pintura*. He blamed the “outrageous” price on the heightened awareness of the booksellers of Stirling’s keenness on the book:

You have so raised the mind, and Pereda and the other booksellers had so increased their prices that I have been obliged to pay through the nose to use a vulgar expression.⁹⁴⁹

In May 1850, Gayangos wrote that the “volume by Pacheco” was on the way to Britain, together with eight other volumes of rare books.⁹⁵⁰ Now at last, and thanks to

⁹⁴⁴ Mary Philadelphia Merrieffield (1804 (or 1805) to 1885) lived in Brighton. Her *Original treatises ... on the arts of painting with notes by Mrs Merrieffield* (1849) was republished in 1999: *Medieval and Renaissance treatises on the arts of paintings*.

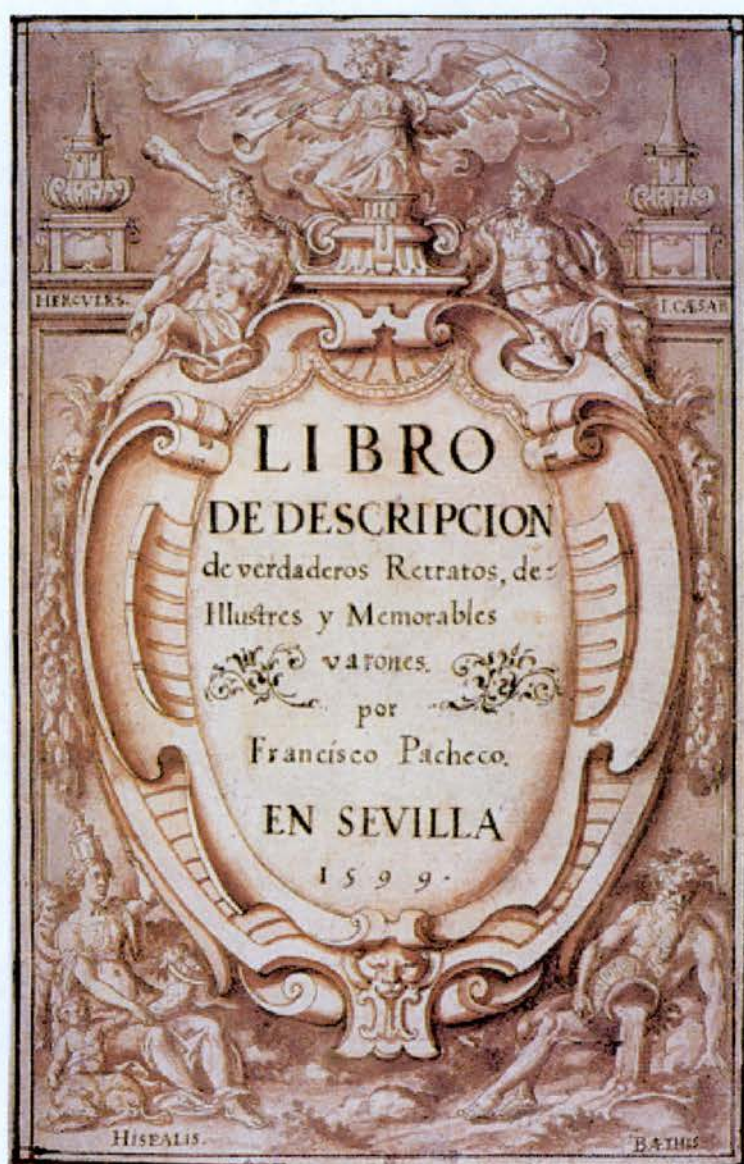
⁹⁴⁵ Stirling to Merrieffield, 26 September 1849. MLG, T-SK 31/Box.

⁹⁴⁶ Merrieffield to Stirling, 28 September 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/5/126.

⁹⁴⁷ Merrieffield to Stirling: “... the copy of the work formerly in my possession was purchased by me from Lord [Ellesmere] to whom I returned it ... I have written to his Lordship enclosing a copy of your letter.” 28 September 1849, Brighton, MLG, T-SK 29/5/126. She then informed Stirling that Lord [Ellesmere] had decided to give him the copy of Pacheco. 3 October 1849. MLG, T-SK 29/5/127.

⁹⁴⁸ Gallardo to Stirling, 29 December 1849, MLG, T-SK 29/5/207

⁹⁴⁹ Gayangos to Stirling. [before May, 1850]. MLG, T-SK 29/5/208-210.



Title page: *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos, de ilustres y memorables varones* by Francisco Pacheco, 1599

Gayangos, Stirling could add a good copy of this important treatise to his collection. However, there is no evidence that he ever re-edited the treatise. It was re-edited in Spain, later, in 1866, by Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil in *La Biblioteca de El Arte en España*.

In May 1867, Gayangos referred once more to Francisco Pacheco when informing Stirling that a portion of the “original book of Pacheco” had been discovered and just bought by the editor Don José Asensio of Seville (1829-1905).⁹⁵¹ Gayangos referred to Pacheco’s *Retratos de ilustres y memorables varones* (plate XIII). It contained drawings of eminent men, with their arms and mottos, and *eloges* by Pacheco. Asensio edited Pacheco’s portrait of and *éloges* to Céspedes in 1867 in *El Arte en España*.⁹⁵² Gayangos described the edition as “a very nice volume with photographs inserted.”⁹⁵³ Gayangos, who was on good terms with Asensio and obtained a copy of the limited edition, printed for a small circle of friends only. Gayangos forwarded it to Stirling.⁹⁵⁴ In 1892 Asensio edited the entire *Libro de Retratos*.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁵⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 May 1850, MLG, T-SK 29/5/211.

⁹⁵¹ Asensio also edited *Catálogo de algunos libros, folletos y artículos referentes a la vida y a las obras de Miguel de Cervantes* (1872); *Francisco Pacheco, sus obras artísticas y literarias...* (1886)

⁹⁵² *El Arte en España*, 1867, vol. VI, pp.229-240.

⁹⁵³ Gayangos to Stirling, 20 May 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/18/89.

⁹⁵⁴ “Zarco sent you a few weeks ago the copy of Pacheco which I obtained for you at Seville”, Gayangos to Stirling, [June 1867], MLG, T-SK 29/17/45. As Asensio’s edition only constituted a part of Pacheco’s *Libro de Retratos*, Gayangos went on about it, writing to Stirling: “I have some distant idea of having seen in Ford’s possession some fragment of Pacheco’s book of Portraits, or having heard him say that he knew of one. There is a story current about here that a Mr. [...therell] once consul at this place, possessed a few of the portraits, and that he took them with him to London. I have seen in your very hands the copy of one [supposing] to be Argote de Molina, but which is to be found in the original book with the inscription El Dr. Negron. I should like to hear from you what you know about Pacheco’s book.” Gayangos to Stirling, 20 May 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/18/89

⁹⁵⁵ *Francisco Pacheco, sus obras artísticas y literarias, especialmente el libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones que dejó inédito*. The edition was a financial loss. Asensio asked Gayangos to sell the original to the British Museum, if possible. Asensio to Gayangos, Seville, 6 October 1887. RAH, Gayangos Papers, Folder 1 (g)

The parcel sent in 1850, besides the volume by Pacheco, comprised other printed books relevant to the Golden Age of Spain:

Sigüenza---3 [volumes], Medidas – 1 [volume], Tejada – 1 [volume], Villalpando – 1 [volume], Caveda ---1 [volume]

But what were these books? How significant were they to Stirling's work?⁹⁵⁶ The three volumes by "Sigüenza" were the three volumes of *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo* (1595, 1600 and 1605) by José Sigüenza, the Hieronymite father and chronicler of the building of the Escorial under Philip II. The volumes tell the story of the order, but also contain references and stories related to Philip II, Charles V, Don John and others. Sigüenza's work is an important art historical source for the many references to the construction and decoration of the Escorial, and the judgements it contains on artistic matters at the court of Philip II. Even today, the work belongs to any standard bibliography on the Escorial,⁹⁵⁷ and indeed sixteenth century Spain. Father Sigüenza's book provided information for Stirling's biography of Don John of Austria (1883): details of Don John of Austria's childhood and the time he spent with his dying father Charles V in the monastery of Yuste.⁹⁵⁸ Sigüenza's writing was of great consequence to Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles V* published in 1852 and dedicated to Richard Ford. In his preface Stirling stated that Sigüenza's *History of the Order of St. Jerome* was the best printed contemporary account of Charles V at Yuste. He then gave a short biography of Sigüenza's life, concluding that he was the most able and learned ecclesiastical historian of that time.

⁹⁵⁶ "Tejada" might be Fernando de Tejada, *Texeda retextus: or the Spanish monke his bill of divorce against the Church of Rome: together with other remarkable occurances*, London, 1623 (translation of Tejada's original *Hispanus coversus*, London, 1623), an example of early controversial literature on the Catholic Church; "Caveda" may refer to José Caveda, *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominación Romana hasta nuestros días*, Madrid, 1848. Caveda's book was of general importance to Stirling's interest in art and architecture in Spain.

⁹⁵⁷ SANCHEZ CANTON, 1932, p.xx

⁹⁵⁸ STIRLING, *Don John of Austria*, 1883, vol. 1, p. 17

[Sigüenza] had the advantage of conversing with many eye-witnesses of the facts; Fray Antonio de Villacastin, and several other monks of Yuste were his brethren at the Escorial, the emperor's confessor, ..., and his favourite preacher, ..., filled the same posts in the household of Philip the Second, and were therefore often at the convent; the prior may also have seen there, Quixada the chamberlain, and Gaztelu the secretary, of Charles; and at Toledo or Madrid he had opportunities of knowing Torriano, the emperor's mechanician.⁹⁵⁹

The purchase of Sigüenza's *History of the Order of St. Jerome* through Gayangos thus greatly helped Stirling in his capacity as historian. As with Prescott, Ford and Ticknor, Gayangos did his utmost. Stirling acknowledged Gayangos' help in his preface, stating that Gayangos had looked for another account of the life of Charles V, the *Epitome of the life of Charles the Fifth* by Juan Antonio de Vera y Figuera. The volume was said to be in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, however, it could not be found. On the other hand, thanks to Gayangos, Stirling obtained an interesting seventeenth-century source: *El perfecto Desengaño* (1638) by the marquis of Valparaiso, knight of the order of Santiago, and dedicated to the Count-Duke of Olivares. Stirling stated in his preface:

He [Gayangos] found... a manuscript work ... It is one of the countless treatises of that age, on the virtues of princes, of which Charles V is held up as a model. The second part, of which a copy is now before me, is entitled, "Life of the emperor in the convent of Yuste, taken from that which was written by the prior Fray Martin de Angulo... and from other books and papers of equal quality and credit."⁹⁶⁰

The manuscript was significant. Prescott, who was working on his own account of Charles V, was keen on it too, writing to Gayangos: "You mention that you have furnished Stirling with the manuscript of Father Angulo used by Sandoval and that it

⁹⁵⁹ STIRLING, *Cloister Life*, 1852, p.viii

⁹⁶⁰ STIRLING, 1852, p.ix

contains an account of the mock funeral of Charles V",⁹⁶¹ thus encouraging Gayangos to provide him with more details.

How significant were the other books in that parcel? Ford, who had seen them, was clearly impressed. He judged that the "lot" was altogether a "capital haul".⁹⁶² Some of them have indeed turned out to be key documents in Stirling's researches. "Villalpando" is Juan Bautista Villalpando, author of *El tratado de la arquitectura perfecta en la última visión del profeta Ezequiel*. His work is relevant to the architecture of the Escorial and could have been useful to Stirling for his revision of his *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, first published in 1848. Like Sigüenza, Villalpando is still considered today fundamental. "Medidas" are *Medidas del Romano (necesarias a los oficiales que quieren seguir las formaciones de las basas, columnas, capitals y otros edificios antiguos)* by Diego de Sagredo, published in 1526 in Toledo, subsequently translated into French and edited in France. *Medidas del Romano* is valuable as the first treatise in Spain on Renaissance architecture. It is an important literary source for Spanish sixteenth-century architecture.⁹⁶³

Gayangos continuously encouraged Stirling's interest in Spain, drawing attention to unknown material; as indeed had been the case with Ford, Prescott and Ticknor. Writing from Madrid in May 1850, Gayangos not only appealed to Stirling's taste for Spanish life but to his appetite as a bibliophile for new material:

We shall have fine doings in September, royal bulls, dances et^a. If you come this way, you will be amply repaid in books and delicious portadas, for I have much that I dare say is quite new to you.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶¹ Prescott to Gayangos, 11 July 1852, GARDINER, 1964, p.314

⁹⁶² Ford to Stirling, 1850. MLG, T-SK 57/25. Dr. D. Howarth kindly drew my attention to this letter.

⁹⁶³ SANCHEZ CANTON, 1932, pp.2-19

⁹⁶⁴ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 May 1850, MLG, T-SK 29/5/211.

Stirling did not return to Spain then, but we find Gayangos writing from London in September 1850, having just returned to London for the first time since his departure in 1843. Gayangos announced that he would acquire a series of books for Stirling, and modestly implied that he hoped for some novels in return:

...As to books I am to pick up Lives of Saints, histories of religion or monastic orders, adages, proverbs, emblems and so forth, and you will procure me novels and occasionally a little volume of poetry that is not dear for I cannot give much money for books.⁹⁶⁵

These books cited by Gayangos related to the religious, spiritual or intellectual context of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain. “Adages” could be *Adages* by Erasmus, who was widely read in the first quarter of the sixteenth-century in Spain and was therefore, important to its theology. The “lives of saints” might refer to the seventeenth-century *The lives of saints gathered out of the reverend father Peter Ribadeneyra, of the Society of Jesus... the first six months with an appendix prefixed of the saints lately canonized, & beatified by Paulus V & Gregory XV* by Alfonsus Villegas (English College Press, 1623). Gayangos’ vague comment, “proverbs, emblems and histories of monastic orders”, does not allow us to determine which other books he meant. However, the items formed an interesting epitome to the Golden Age. As it was, Stirling had already shown in his *Annals* how he was aware of the important relationship between art and its historical, social and religious context. This new material only encouraged Stirling in his contextual approach, and thus helped to confirm his place in English historiography as the one who first saw the interrelationship between arts and society.

⁹⁶⁵Gayangos to Stirling, 20 September [1850]. MLG, T-SK 29/6/6.



Ponciano Ponzano y Giuseppe Galeotti, *Don John of Austria's sepulchre*,
19th century, Escorial

Gayangos made Stirling aware of new material, but he also responded to specific requests for emblem books for which Stirling had a very pronounced taste. Stirling formed the greatest ever collection of European emblem books, today housed in Glasgow University Library. For example, Gayangos provided Stirling with a copy of Nuñez de Cepeda's *Empresas Sacras*,⁹⁶⁶ a seventeenth-century book on emblems, recently reedited in Madrid.⁹⁶⁷

Sometimes Gayangos' and Stirling's hunt after a particular emblem book overlapped. For example, in the case of *Emblemata Centum* by Juan Solozarno Pereira (1575-1655). In 1867 Gayangos had found a copy for a guinea advertised in a sale catalogue in Paris.⁹⁶⁸ However, when he went to see the bookseller, he was told that it had been sold the previous year to Sir William Stirling. Gayangos, intrigued, wrote to Stirling: "Is that true, and have you forgotten the circumstance or is it that you want a bad copy with portrait?"⁹⁶⁹ There is no further reference to the book. Stirling indeed owned the original edition of Solozarno's emblem book, but within the great quantity of books he already owned, had probably forgotten about it. Most of Gayangos' letters to Stirling deal with books and manuscripts, however Stirling also found Gayangos authoritative on the arts.⁹⁷⁰ Gayangos' versatility could only encourage Stirling's own.

Contributions to Don John of Austria

Gayangos' most substantial contribution to Stirling resided in the provision of material, advice and expertise for Stirling's work on Don John of Austria, the

⁹⁶⁶ Gayangos to Stirling, 7 June 187, MLG, T-SK 29/16/138.

⁹⁶⁷ Edited by Rafael García Mahiques, prologue by Santiago Sebastián, Madrid, 1988

⁹⁶⁸ *Emblemata Centum* - reedited in 1779 by Matriti.

⁹⁶⁹ Gayangos to Stirling, 20 November 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/17/44

⁹⁷⁰ See Chapter One, pp.66-68

illegitimate son of Charles V (plate XIV). Stirling had long been fascinated by this historical figure. As early as 1841, he had read Alexis Dumesnil's *Histoire de Don Juan d'Autriche* (Paris, 1827) and thought that "a good history of him in English would be popular", and more romantically, he believed that "his amour with Diana de Falanga ... would make a pretty ballad."⁹⁷¹ Don John was an appealing figure to the romantic eye and he was no less illustrious than his half-brother, Philip II. Illegitimate son of the great Emperor Charles V, he crowded into his short life more events – battles, conquests, victories, amorous adventures – than most men. He was also much more sympathetic than Philip II, and the very brevity of his life lent him glamour. A monographic study remained to be written in English, and thus the subject represented a relatively unexplored field. After his publication of the *Annals* (1848), Stirling turned to this subject, and to Gayangos. Hitherto the role of Gayangos' assistance to this pioneering project has not been properly acknowledged. The preface, written by George W. Cox posthumously, does not include any acknowledgements to anyone at all. As with Prescott, we find references to Gayangos only in the footnotes and in the appendix. In some instances the credit is so vague as to be meaningless, and sometimes there is no credit at all where there should be.

However letters from Gayangos suggest how Gayangos was central: Gayangos provided significant primary material, early printed books, and also illustrations. For this Gayangos recruited amongst others Valentin Carderera, the painter and archaeologist, and Manuel Zarco del Valle, who had his own bibliographical and historical interests, including the completion of *Datos*

⁹⁷¹ MLG, T-SK 28/9. Travel notes, under "Hints on things in general".

documentales inéditos para la Historia del Arte español, published in over one hundred volumes between 1842 and 1895.⁹⁷²

From 1850 onwards the central subject of correspondence between Gayangos and Stirling was Don John of Austria. In February of that year, Gayangos replied to Stirling's enquiry about the whereabouts of relevant documents. Some were in the *Academia de la Historia* and they "abounded" in the archives of Simancas, a "most horrible and miserable little village with an old castle".⁹⁷³ Gayangos strongly discouraged Stirling from going to Simancas himself, describing all the difficulties he had to face when doing research there in 1844. He doubted that Stirling, as a foreigner, would obtain permission, but suggested:

I can get it [permission] for myself, but then I could only offer you my service for the months of July, August and September, that is during the summer vacation at the university."⁹⁷⁴

Stirling paid for the material he received from Gayangos. In February 1850, Gayangos informed Stirling that the documents in the Royal library and in the Academy of History could be copied "for 6 reales for 2 sheets in folio."⁹⁷⁵ The correspondence contains many references to payments: In May 1850, Stirling paid 1270 reales for the purchase of books and maps, and Gayangos had in his "hands" a balance "for copying etc." of 1155 [*reales*].⁹⁷⁶ In October 1858, Gayangos informed

⁹⁷² He also catalogued the papers and books of the bibliographer Bartolomé José Gallardo (1776-1852), BMP

⁹⁷³ Gayangos to Stirling, 23 Feb 1850, T-SK 29/5/210. MLG

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁶ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 May 1850, MLG, T-SK 29/5/211. On the back, Stirling added: "*Price of books stated in letters of 23 February 1850 [:]May... 1270 [reales] [...] Balance in G's hand for copying etc. 1155*"

Stirling that he had received £4.12 from him, but that he still owed him £1.4⁹⁷⁷ In 1865, Gayangos sent Stirling a large parcel with a variety of material: books engravings, prints, some Spanish blankets. Gayangos had received “funds” from Stirling to purchase the material,⁹⁷⁸ and then reminded Stirling that the total amounted to 2600 *reales*, but that Stirling had given him only 2000 *reales*. He concluded: “you will be in my debt for about Stirling 6.5.”⁹⁷⁹ It is impossible to say whether Gayangos took a “commission” and how much money he earned. Gayangos did not depend on undertaking research work for others to make a living. He received by then 26,000 *reales*. In the 1860s, this amount corresponded to approximately 270 Stirling,⁹⁸⁰ which today would amount to about 40,000 Stirling. But an additional income could make life much easier in financial terms, and allow him to undertake frequent trips to London from the 1850s onwards.

The first collation of documents for Don John of Austria had begun by June 1850. Gayangos informed Stirling that “a few printed leaves” were on the way to Great Britain, and “some of the papers of Don Juan de Austria” were “already copied” and that he was “making the collation of them.”⁹⁸¹ This first collation was probably from papers in Madrid to which Gayangos had alluded in his previous letter. The Royal Academy owned copies from originals at Simancas. Much later, in 1865 during another trip through Spain, Stirling studied the whole collection at the Real Academia de la Historia, and acknowledged later:

⁹⁷⁷ Gayangos to Stirling, 8 October 1858. MLG, T-SK 29 /9/45.

⁹⁷⁸ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 April 1865. MLG, TSK 29/15/92

⁹⁷⁹ Gayangos to Stirling, [before June 1865], MLG, T-SK 29/15/91

⁹⁸⁰ FONTANELLA, *Clifford en España*, 1999, p. 220 – Exchange rate, 1860s: £1=95*reales*

⁹⁸¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 2 June 1850. MLG, T-SK 29/5/212

I had an opportunity, by the kindness of Don Pascual de Gayangos of carefully examining this collection in February 1865. A good many of the papers have been printed in the Documentos inéditos.⁹⁸²

Gayangos' assistance was not limited to the archives in Spain. In September 1851, we find him in London, where he was undertaking research. He explained to Stirling that he was too "pressed for time" with his research and therefore unable to accept Stirling's "kind invitation", probably a social invitation in London, or perhaps to his estate in Keir.⁹⁸³ Since the British Museum Library was going to close on 1 October, Gayangos had to make his "search of the Mss" as fast as he could.⁹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, whilst researching for Prescott, Gayangos kept looking for manuscripts relevant to Don John and wrote to Stirling:

By the by you should look, when you next go there, for a collection of historical papers in the Egerton Collection N^o 329-55, and you will find several papers respecting Dⁿ John of Austria.⁹⁸⁵

Stirling did this. He edited some in full in the appendix of *Don John of Austria*: two letters by Don John, one to the Prince of Eboli, dated 8 July 1571, and one to King Philip II dated 12 July 1571, both written in Barcelona. However he did not acknowledge that Gayangos had drawn his attention to this material.⁹⁸⁶ In another short note, Gayangos drew attention to an earlier letter by Philip II to Don John:

My dear Stirling, Egerton 329 Papeles Varios 1333-1691 is in folio and numbers 515 leaves. At folio 231 is: Instrucción particular de mano de su Magestad para el serenísimo Señor Don Juan de Austria. Aranjuez 23 de Mayo de 1568.

This was a letter by Philip II to Don John giving instructions for his first naval command. The letter had also been printed in the early Spanish biography by L.

⁹⁸² STIRLING, 1883, vol. 2, p. 497

⁹⁸³ Gayangos to Stirling, 20 September [1850]. MLG, T-SK. 29/6/6

⁹⁸⁴ *Idem*

⁹⁸⁵ *Idem*

⁹⁸⁶ STIRLING, 1883, vol. 2, pp. 377-383. The letters were from the British Museum.

Vanderhammen y Leon (*Don Juan de Austria*, Madrid, 1627). Stirling translated the letter and inserted it in the main text. Thus, from the outset of their relationship, Gayangos' role was not reduced to copying and purchasing manuscripts or books for Stirling, but he heightened Stirling's awareness of historical material. Stirling benefited from Gayangos' vast bibliographical knowledge of the archives in Britain as well as in Spain.

In 1858, Gayangos researched the archives of Simancas for reports on the famous naval battle of Lepanto fought in October 1571 under the command of Don John. This significant event, the most important in Don John's career, and arguably in sixteenth-century military history in general, constitutes an entire chapter in Stirling's *Don John of Austria*. It relates the great naval battle between the fleets of the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire at the mouth of the Gulf of Patras, off Lepanto, Greece. Although the fleets were about evenly matched, the battle ended with the virtual destruction of the Ottoman navy. It constituted the first major Ottoman defeat by the Christian powers and ended the myth of Ottoman naval invincibility. The battle was decisive in the sense that an Ottoman victory at Lepanto probably would have made the Ottoman Empire supreme in the Mediterranean. Prescott had already given an epic account of the battle in his *Philip II*. In a biography of Don John the event would naturally take a very prominent place too. Gayangos worked "among the papers of Don Juan for his official reports of the battle of Lepanto"⁹⁸⁷ and, in October 1858, informed Stirling about three important documents. First, he had discovered

⁹⁸⁷ Gayangos to Stirling, 8 October 1858, MLG, T-SK 29 /9/45.

a letter of his [Don John] of the 10th [1571] referring to a dispatch sent by Don Lope de Figuera, and promise to send in a few days a relación circunstanciada

Second, Gayangos had come across “a full and detailed account of the battle.” Since it was not signed by Don John and contained “no indications of having emanated from him or his secretary”, Gayangos wrote, “I cannot say it is the one you want.”⁹⁸⁸ In addition, Gayangos alerted Stirling to a printed source:

There is besides a printed account, a black letter without date, and in folio, of which I may send you a copy if you wish it.⁹⁸⁹

This account must be Aparici's *Documentos relativos a la batalla de Lepanto, sacados de los Archivos de Simanca* which had been printed in 1847 in Madrid. Stirling used the three documents indicated by Gayangos. First, he mentioned in a footnote in the chapter on Lepanto that he had relied on Aparici's *Documentos relativos a la batalla de Lepanto*, for the report of the battle. However, he did not acknowledge his debt to Gayangos.⁹⁹⁰ Second, Stirling heavily relied on the unsigned report supplied by Gayangos, which covered the period between 30 September and 10 October 1571. Whilst admitting that it had “formed the groundwork” of the narrative of the battle, he did not give Gayangos any credit.⁹⁹¹ Third, Stirling integrated Don John's letter dated 10 October 1571, also mentioned by Gayangos. Stirling valued it for its more expansive content. In his opinion, the letter “displayed in no unpleasing colours his [Don John's] feelings on the occasion of his great victory, and his desire that full justice should be done to the services of those under his command.”⁹⁹² Stirling translated the letter into English and inserted it in full into

⁹⁸⁸ *Idem.*

⁹⁸⁹ *Idem.*

⁹⁹⁰ STIRLING, 1883, p.434, n.1

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.433

⁹⁹² *Idem.*

the main text. As these documents belong to the main sources of the chapter on the battle of Lepanto, it is disappointing that Stirling did not acknowledge his debt. The documents are still considered amongst the most important for understanding the battle and are cited in all subsequent biographies. For example, Charles Petrie, author of the first complete biography of Don John in English since Stirling's work, inserted the letter dated 10 October 1571 in the main text of his *Don John of Austria* published in 1967.⁹⁹³ The letter, and the anonymous report giving a step by step account of the battle, have also been recently published in Spain, together with a companion text by José L. Rodríguez de Diego.

Gayangos provided Stirling with a series of letters from Don John to his friend Rodrigo de Mendoza, which Stirling edited in the appendix together with a translation into English. In 1862, Gayangos first drew Stirling's attention to the romantic content of two of these letters, suggesting that he had found "very interesting letters" with information about Don John of Austria's "night adventures and *rencontres amoureuses*"⁹⁹⁴, promising to send copies. These must be those dated 5 November 1576 and 17 February 1577, which comprise whole paragraphs by Don John dedicated to "my lady", thus appealing to the romantic reader, for example:

I kiss the hand of my lady and I promise her she was amongst those most called for, and the most cherished in my memory, and ever shall be, as is due to her own remembrance [of me]. I entreat her to write how she finds herself without the presence of her lover; and moreover I inform her that what she feels is neither more nor less than absent lovers usually feel. I do not go into further explanations, because her own feeling of it will be in proportion to her true love for me....⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹³ PETRIE, *Don John of Austria*, 1967, p. 188. He uses Stirling's translation of Don John's letter, 10 Oct. 1571

⁹⁹⁴ Gayangos to Stirling, 28 [Dec] 1862, MLG, T-SK 29/13/116

⁹⁹⁵ Extract from a letter of Don John to Rodrigo de Mendoza, 5 November 1576, in Spanish and English, STIRLING, 1883, p.437-9

In the concluding notes of *Don John of Austria*, Stirling speculated that this “lady” might have been Maria de Mendoza, a “lady of noble family in Spain” and the mother of Don John’s natural child Anna.⁹⁹⁶ The other letter by Don John (17 February 1577) was even more emotional. Don John wrote to his friend Rodrigo de Mendoza, that for “about three months” he had been so “tormented by love” and prayed to God “that it may not be in its usual way of tormenting!”⁹⁹⁷ These two letters embroidered Stirling’s fifth chapter dealing with “Don John’s arrival in the Netherlands” embracing the period from October 1576 to May 1577. The letters to Rodrigo de Mendoza are of a private character, revealing personal details, and therefore differ from the official papers used by Stirling in this chapter, which mostly relies on printed primary documents, such as Gachard’s *Correspondence de Philippe II* from the archives of Simancas published in 1847 and Motley’s account of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1855 and 1858), which included a variety of letters of Don John and Philip II from the archives outside of Spain. In addition, Stirling made use of a sixteenth-century publication from Antwerp: *Sommier discours des justes causes et raisons qu’ont constraint les Etats Generaux des Pays Bas de pourvoir a leur deffence contre le Seigneur Don Jehan d’Austrice* (1577).⁹⁹⁸ Whilst these sources reflect the development of the historical events, the letters by Don John to Mendoza give us an idea of his more personal thoughts. Stirling valued all kinds of personal information, for he believed that “every relic of the personal history of a man of

⁹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.340

⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.441

⁹⁹⁸ STIRLING, 1883, pp.185-221. For Don John’s beginning in the Netherlands, he also relied on:

Gachard, *Correspondence de Philippe II*, 1847

Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 1855 and 1858.

Vandervynckt, *Histoire des Troubles des Pays-Bas*, corrigé par J. Tarte, 1822

genius has a certain value.”⁹⁹⁹ In addition to the references to Don John’s personal feelings about his “lady”, the letters give a more vivid insight into Don John’s later life. For example, one letter stresses the hardships and the hastiness of his secret journey to Luxemburg. He wrote:

I pursued my journey with all haste, which was necessary, because I had been seen and recognized by all the ambassador’s servants, by whom the secret could not be long kept.....I pushed on day and night, though the roads were so villainous and so infested with plague that I had to make great circuits, and to ride the same horse for two days... At last, thank God, I reached this place...¹⁰⁰⁰

By 1864 Stirling had received from Gayangos altogether copies of five autograph letters from John of Austria to Rodrigo de Mendoza:

I have no copy by me of the letter of Don John dated 29th of October 1577, no doubt it was copied for you by my friend Zarco del Valle. Those of which I kept copies are one of February 17, 1577, beginning "Una de dos" Another of the 1st of January 1578: "Por la prisa con que parte este correo", 5th of November 1576: "De Antonio Perez" and without date : "Quatro o cinco dias ha" in all four letters, and I do believe that you have one more.¹⁰⁰¹

The letter dated 29 October had been transcribed by Gayangos’ friend Manuel Zarco de Valle. By June 1864, Stirling had received “a copy of another letter of Don Juan”, from Simancas, also transcribed by Zarco de Valle.”¹⁰⁰² In total we find six letters by Don John to Rodrigo de Mendoza edited in the appendix of *Don John of Austria*. Stirling acknowledged in a footnote that, for the transcription of the six letters, he was indebted to “the kindness of my friends Don Pascual de Gayangos and Don

⁹⁹⁹ STIRLING, 1848, preface, p.xvi

¹⁰⁰⁰ STIRLING, 1883, p.437

¹⁰⁰¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 15 January 1864, MLG, T-SK 29/14/124. “I have no copy by me of the letter of Don John dated 29th of October 1577, no doubt it was copied for you by my friend Zarco del Valle. Those of which I kept copies are one of February 17, 1577, beginning ‘Una de dos’. Another of the 1st of January 1578: ‘Don la priere con que parte este correo’ ... 5 the of November 1576: ‘De Antonio Perez’ and without date : ‘Quatro o cinco dias ha’ in all four letters, and I do believe that you have one more.”

¹⁰⁰² Gayangos to Stirling, not dated, [March-June 1864], MLG,T-SK 29/14/126

Manuel Zarco de Valle.”¹⁰⁰³ These letters from Don John to Mendoza, covering Don John’s later life, had never been edited before and with their publication and translation into English, Stirling really contributed to the progress of scholarship on John of Austria. Whilst others, Gachard and Aparici, had made available the official correspondence between Don John and Philip II, Stirling, thanks to Gayangos, was able to edit the more personal letters to Rodrigo de Mendoza.

Stirling was curious to know the identity of Rodrigo de Mendoza, and in December 1864, Gayangos sent him what he “had been able to collect about don Rodrigo de Mendoza, who after all seems to me to be no other than the brother of the duke Don Iñigo, who married his daughter Doña Ana. He was closely allied to the Conde de Orgaz who was also a Mendoza, and to the Princess of Eboli, then a widow.”¹⁰⁰⁴ In April 1865, Gayangos enclosed in his letter a long note about “Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, who seems to have obtained at last the adelantamiento of Cazorla.”¹⁰⁰⁵

Gayangos did not work alone. A series of letters show that Zarco de Valle made further efforts to gather material for Stirling. Zarco de Valle had met Stirling personally in Madrid. In a letter dated April 1865, he congratulated Stirling on his forthcoming marriage and referred to their friendship:

*...la bonne amitié que nous avons contractée à Madrid dans les courts moments que j’ai eu le plaisir de vous faire compagnie.*¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰³ STIRLING, 1883, vol. II, p.462

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gayangos to Stirling, December 26 1864, MLG, T-SK 29.14.127.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 April 1865, MLG, TSK 29/15/92: Adelantamiento de Cazorla...

¹⁰⁰⁶ Zarco to Stirling. 19 April 1864. MLG, T-SK 29/15/378.

However, not all of Zarco's findings and offers for the transcriptions of manuscripts were fruitful. For example, in April 1863, Gayangos informed Stirling that Zarco would be able to copy another letter from Philip II to Don John:

Don Manuel Zarco ... wished to know whether it would be agreeable to you to have a copy of the instructions which Philip II gave to Don John for the government of Flanders. He has found what he believes to be the original of them.¹⁰⁰⁷

Zarco did not seem to be aware that these instructions of Philip II had been already transcribed and edited by Louis Prosper Gachard in *Correspondence de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas* (published in four volumes from 1848 to 1861).¹⁰⁰⁸ But then in April 1863 Gayangos also let Stirling know that Zarco had met with a new interesting document:

a detailed inventory of all the furniture, paintings, jewels, and so forth that remained in the [apartment] of Don Juan (within the Real Alcazar) when he started upon his last expedition.¹⁰⁰⁹

This was just the sort of thing to have appealed to Stirling who valued ephemera and the cultural impedimenta of historical figures; an angle of approach which made Stirling something of a pioneer in cultural history. Unfortunately, there is no reference at all to such an inventory in Stirling's book, and we can only assume that Zarco never copied it.

For his part, Gayangos, as a historian situating himself at the crossroads between Moorish and Christian culture, provided Stirling with a series of documents regarding the Morisco Rebellion (1568-1570), a subject which filled no less than six entire chapters in *Don John of Austria*. The documents complemented the

¹⁰⁰⁷Gayangos to Stirling, 25 April 1863, MLG, T- SK 29/13/117.

¹⁰⁰⁸STIRLING, 1883, vol.2, p.190

¹⁰⁰⁹Gayangos to Stirling, 25 April 1863, MLG, T- SK 29/13/117.

information provided by the two main printed sources (Carvajal's *Historia del rebellion y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada*, edited in 1600; Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*, edited in 1610). For example in the first chapter, dealing with Don John's arrival at Granada, and the ceremonial of his reception, Stirling reflects on the very high status that Don John had reached in Spain, indicating that he was addressed as "His Excellency", or as "His Highness." This argument was based on two letters from the "curious collection of MS. Papers belonging to Don Pascual de Gayangos"¹⁰¹⁰ The following chapters cover the different stages of the rebellion, including the deaths of some of Don John's captains and their replacements. Here Stirling used a series of letters edited in *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*. Stirling had tried to purchase the entire collection published since 1842 by the *Real Academia de la Historia*. However, Gayangos made it clear that the chances were remote.¹⁰¹¹

The collection of Documentos ineditos which consists now of 45 volumes is not to be had except by a mere chance and at a very high price. The sale price of each volume is 48£ and I do not think it can be procured for less than £20. The first seven volumes were printed only at 250 copies and are almost introuvable. The remainder may be picked up occasionally for about 10 [£] per vol.

Stirling did gain access to number 28, printed in 1856 from a manuscript volume "in the possession of Pascual de Gayangos."¹⁰¹² This precious volume comprised the correspondence of Philip II and others with Don John of Austria between 1568 and 1570 about the campaign against the Moriscos of Granada, and was thus of real

¹⁰¹⁰ STIRLING, 1883, p.154.

¹⁰¹¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 26 Dec 1864, MLG, T-SK 29/14/127

¹⁰¹² STIRLING, 1883, vol.2, p.476. The correspondence of Don John between 1568 and 1570 had been printed amongst the *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. xxviii, pp.1-154; Madrid, 1856.

value. He copied a number of letters from the edition, and used them in his work.¹⁰¹³ For example, in chapter eight, the two letters from Don John to the King, dated 6 September and 4 October 1569, illustrate the replacement of Quiroga, the deceased secretary of Don John.¹⁰¹⁴ Philip II appointed Juan Soto, an experienced military man at sea, who, though he was not the first choice of Don John, “gave him great satisfaction.”¹⁰¹⁵ Stirling also used this letter and three others in order to emphasise Don John’s courageous, generous and dynamic spirit, which contrasts with Philip’s character.

For example, in September 1569, Philip had asked Don John to refrain from his participation in “skirmishing parties to harass or surprise the enemy”, from watching the patrols on their round, etc. Philip thought that being with the soldiers at all times was not Don John’s duty.¹⁰¹⁶ However, Don John replied that, since he was still “learning”, he would not miss any opportunity to gain experience, and in another letter, he insisted that the soldiers should find him “in front of them, or at least with them, ready to encourage them to do their duty, and that they should know that I desire to lead them in the name of your Majesty.”¹⁰¹⁷

Also from *Documentos ineditos* volume 28, printed from the copies in Gayangos’ possession, Stirling gathered information relating to Luis Méndez de Quijada, an important figure. He had already served under Charles V, who had entrusted him with Don John’s education. During the Morisco campaign, he was Don

¹⁰¹³ MLG, T-SK 31.Box 12: Papers relating to the Morisco War were copied from *Documentos ineditos*, vol. xxviii, 5-154 “from a [ms work] in the collection of Pascual de Gayangos.” (letters 10 May 1569, 20 May 1569, 6 Sept 1569, 4 Oct 1569, 26 Nove 1569, 26 Jan 1570, 19 Feb 1570, 24 Feb 1570, 25 Feb 1570, 25 feb 1570)

¹⁰¹⁴ STIRLING, 1883, p.181. Edited in *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xxviii. 20 and 30.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Idem*.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.182

¹⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.183. Don John to Philip, 4 October 1569. *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. 28, p. 29

John's main adviser.¹⁰¹⁸ Stirling translated and inserted the letters by Don John to Philip II dated 17 and 25 February 1570 in the main text. The first describes the disastrous military backdrop in February 1570. Don John and his soldiers had been surprised by a large body of rebels, and Don John and Quijada had tried in vain to stop the troops from fleeing from the Moors. "Quijada", Don John reported to the King, "in using his utmost efforts to make the men stand fast, received an harquebus-shot in his left shoulder from which he is in considerable danger; and today in trying to extract the ball the surgeons have made five incisions ... although they have found the ball, they have not succeeded in getting it out, which is unfortunate. The loss to your Majesty's service is already much felt; for I was so much helped by his soldierly experience, his care and diligence, ..." ¹⁰¹⁹ In order to illustrate Don John's grief over the subsequent death of Quijada, Stirling edited part of the second letter by Don John written on 25 February 1570:

Your Majesty has this day lost one of your best servants and ministers by the death of Luis Quixada, especially at a time when his presence will be so much missed in the affairs now in hand, the war having been hitherto conducted according to his advice and opinion, and when I feel myself so alone and in want of some person to whom we may have recourse in what we undertake.¹⁰²⁰

By inserting other extracts from further letters dating from 24 February and 4 March, Stirling demonstrated Quijada's importance in the campaign. These included two letters from Don John (one to Cardinal Espinosa, one to the Prince of Eboli), two from Philip II to Don John, and one from the Prince of Eboli to Don John. In a footnote, Stirling acknowledged that the letters were extracted from the *Documentos*

¹⁰¹⁸ Gayangos to Stirling, 15 Jan 1864, MLG, T-SK 29/14/124.

¹⁰¹⁹ STIRLING, 1883, p.232

¹⁰²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.235

ineditos volume 28, “printed from the copies in Gayangos’ possession.”¹⁰²¹ The loss of Quijada as a consequence is an important episode in the biography of Don John. The modern author Charles Petrie, too, gives an abridged version of Stirling’s account of the events. Petrie relied heavily on Stirling, and even copied the English translations of Don John’s letters to the King.¹⁰²² It was thanks to the diligence of Gayangos that Stirling was able to do justice to the central role played by Quijada in the life of Don John of Austria.

Gayangos also assisted Stirling in gathering information on the taking of Galera, the town conquered from the Moriscos by Don John in the middle of February 1570. In 1864, Gayangos reminded Stirling: “If I recollect right, I sent you once a description of a certain printed tract on the taking of Galera in the Alpujarras.”¹⁰²³ This “printed tract” might have been the text that had been reprinted in “Historias de Particulares Sucesos” in volume XXI of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Stirling reproduced a passage of this text in a footnote:

Siguióse la Victoria por nuestra parte hasta que del todo se rindió Galera, sin dejar en ella cosa que la contrastase que todo no la pasasen a chuchillo. Repartióse el despojo y presa que en ella habia y púsose el lugar á fuego, así por no dejar nido para rebelados, como porque de los cuerpos muertos no resultase alguna corrupcion; lo qual todo acabado ordenó Don Juan que el ejército marchase para Baza, adonde fué recebido con mucho regocijo.¹⁰²⁴

The information was most interesting as it shed a slightly different light on Don John’s conduct during the taking of La Galera. The other sources attributed the cruelty of the Christians towards the vanquished Moriscos to Don John himself.

¹⁰²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.235-6

¹⁰²² PETRIE, 1967, p.102

¹⁰²³ Gayangos to Stirling, 15 January 1864, MLG, T-SK 29/14/124.

¹⁰²⁴ STIRLING, 1883, p.228. This tract was included only in the later editions of Diego de Mendoza’s *Guerra de Granada*.

However, the passage above does not portray Don John as the originator of such violence.¹⁰²⁵

Gayangos also facilitated Stirling's access to an important letter of Don John to Philip II describing the taking of Galera in 1570. This letter was part of the collection of papers at the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid), to which Gayangos had drawn Stirling's attention in 1850,¹⁰²⁶ and which Stirling examined in 1865 thanks to the "kindness of Pascual de Gayangos."¹⁰²⁷ The letter adds Don John's view as to the difficulty of this military enterprise: It lasted from "nine in the morning till night, fighting going on the while in the houses, in the streets, and on the roofs, the women fighting as well as ... their husbands."¹⁰²⁸ More than 2500 Moors were killed. Don John first had given orders that women, boy and girls should be killed, but then forbade the slaughter, seeing "the evil looks with which the soldiers saw themselves deprived of their booty."¹⁰²⁹ Stirling reproduced the letter in its original Spanish version together with its translation into English in the appendix of his biography of Don John. In the modern biography by Petrie, the translated letter is fully inserted in the main text.¹⁰³⁰ With the assistance of Gayangos, Stirling also received the letter from Don John to his stepmother Magdalena de Ulloa. On 8 September 1865 Gayangos wrote that he had asked Zarco "to make a transcript of Don John's letter to D^a Magdalena" and sent it to Stirling. It was also "among the

¹⁰²⁵ Luis del Marmol de Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada*, (1600, and 1797) stated that Don John sent orders that the Moorish prisoners, including women and children, should be put to death.

¹⁰²⁶ STIRLING, 1883, p.364-371. The letter from Don John to Philip was from "a transcript taken from the original at Simancas, and forming part of a collection of papers bequeathed to the Royal Academy of History at Madrid by Don Luis Lopez Ballesteros."

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 497

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.367

¹⁰²⁹ *Idem.*

¹⁰³⁰ PETRIE, 1967, pp.97-100

documents at the Academy of History”¹⁰³¹ A week later, on 16 September 1865, Gayangos confirmed that Zarco had begun the transcript and was going to send it in “a couple of days.”¹⁰³² Stirling edited it in the appendix of his *Don John of Austria*.¹⁰³³ The letter is important in the sense that it reveals Don John’s perspective of the taking of the Galera in 1570, and thus complements his account given in his letter to Philip II.

Gayangos always kept Stirling up-to-date about the current state of research in Spain. For example, he informed Stirling that he had heard that there was a letter in the Academy of History “of some Spanish official in Flanders writing to Philip and giving him an account of a conversation he overheard at an inn, where he was staying between a lady and a youth. The lady complained bitterly of her poverty, and said to the youth, you are the son of Don John.” Gayangos assured Stirling “I will verify the anecdote, if it really exists.”¹⁰³⁴ As there is no further reference to this either in the correspondence or in Stirling’s book, this was probably a rumour. Gayangos further alerted Stirling in 1865 to the fact that he had a literary competitor, “a certain German count residing... at Prague”. Apparently he was collecting manuscripts and books for a history of Don John and had obtained permission to examine the papers at the Academy. Gayangos had told him that Stirling was working on the same subject, but he had not seemed “at all discouraged by the fact, and ... ordered copies to be made, books to be bought, and so on.”¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 8 September 1865, MLG, T-SK 29/15/101.

¹⁰³² Gayangos to Stirling, 16 September 1865, MLG, T-SK 29/15/102

¹⁰³³ STIRLING, 1883, p.371. The letter was taken from a manuscript in the *Real Academia de la Historia*. Ref: “Miscelánea de Jesuitas T.72, N° 85”

¹⁰³⁴ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 April 1865, MLG, TSK 29/15/92.

¹⁰³⁵ Gayangos to Stirling 7 June [1865?], MLG, T-SK 29/16/138.

Gayangos also secured for Stirling the early biography of Don John *Joannis Austriaci Vita auctore* by Antonio Osorio. In the bibliography of *Don John of Austria*, Stirling indicated that the manuscript biography was kept in the National Library at Madrid where a transcript had been provided by Pascual de Gayangos.¹⁰³⁶ A further undated letter shows that Stirling had approached Gayangos with an enquiry regarding the identity of Osorio. Gayangos replied that Osorio was the “same Jesuit Antonio who wrote the life of Alba. He was the son of the marquis of Astorga [...]”¹⁰³⁷ Stirling added this information to his note on Osorio’s biography.

It would appear that Stirling had enquired of Gayangos whether there were any papers in Simancas relating to the last months of Don John’s life and in particular, to the death of his secretary Juan Escovedo, who had been murdered in March 1578 on the orders of the king himself. Stirling was intrigued by the absence of any comments by Don John on this tragic event. In December 1864, Gayangos suggested that G.A. Bergenroth (1813-1868) could perhaps help to source some more information: “There is a German named Bergenroth who publishes in London a summary of the contents of papers relating to the history of England, kept at Simancas, who might have cleared the difficulty for us, but he is not there at present, he left for Nice at the end of November. I dare say [he] knows something about it.”¹⁰³⁸ Bergenroth was working on further volumes of the *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain*, of which the first volume had come out in 1862. This German intellectual had carried out research in the London Record Office for three years from 1857 to 1860 before he

¹⁰³⁶ STIRLING, 1883, vol.2, p.471

¹⁰³⁷ Gayangos to Stirling, 7 June [1865?], MLG, T-SK 29/16/138.

¹⁰³⁸ Gayangos to Stirling, 26 December 1864, MLG, T-SK 29.14.127.

decided to go through the enormous mass of archives in Spain. He lived in Simancas, with intervals for research in other places, from 1860 until his death in 1868.¹⁰³⁹ In April 1865, Gayangos informed Stirling that Bergenroth was still in Nice, but would soon go to Simancas and attend to the task, although, Gayangos explained, Bergenroth had “very little confidence of finding anything at all. He explains Don John’s silence by his being unwilling to allude to, or mention an affair in which Phillip was concerned.”¹⁰⁴⁰ However, Bergenroth’s going to Simanca was delayed, and he did not start his research for Stirling until the summer of 1867.¹⁰⁴¹ He informed Stirling that between Escovedo’s death on 31 March until the death of Don John on 1 October 1578, there was nothing:

As soon as I was installed in the archives, I asked for the legajos in which the letters of Don Juan ought to be. I found that his correspondence is very voluminous but that there is almost a blank just during the time you are interested in, that is to say March 1578 until the death of D[on] J[ohn]. In the collection Flanders I found only two of his letters corresponding to that period, his own dated 6th May 1578, the other 20th July. Neither contains the least allusion to the death of Escovedo.¹⁰⁴²

Although he explained that there were no letters in the collations where they should have been, he also admitted that this may have been because of the chaos of the archives and that their absence was “not a sign they don’t exist in the archives.” He therefore had “looked into some Legajos where they ought not to be.”¹⁰⁴³ As a result, he had found some short army reports, from 18 July to 4 September, but the report of 24 August was the last answered by Don John. For what his view was worth, Bergenroth thought Don John’s silence was not so surprising:

¹⁰³⁹ A German intellectual, with politically liberal inclinations, who renounced a legal career; in 1857, he decided to write on Tudor England.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 April 1865, MLG, TSK 29/15/92

¹⁰⁴¹ Bergenroth to Stirling, 15 July 1867. MLG, T-SK 31.Box 12

¹⁰⁴² *Idem.*

¹⁰⁴³ *Idem.*

...it seems to be strange that he should not have said a word about it, but it is not strange at all. If he knew or suspected in what manner Escovedo had been despatched, he would certainly [illegible] not to betray his feelings in a letter. But that is a supposition of mine which shall not prevent me from looking out for evidence to the contrary. If I find more letters of that period, and especially if I find in them any mention of the death of Escovedo, I shall directly write it to you.”¹⁰⁴⁴

He may have been right. Escovedo had been murdered as a result of the intrigue of the king's secretary, who had convinced the king that Escovedo was a threat to the crown. Don John would have put himself in danger if he had shown his true opinion about the affair. In the event, no document with Don John's comments regarding the death of his secretary emerged.

In a letter dated 5 October 1867, Gayangos updated Stirling on the current state of knowledge about the identity of Don John's natural mother. He alerted Stirling to a manuscript (*Vida Secreta de Felipe II*) that included an account of all the illegitimate children of the Spanish Kings from Ferdinand down to Philip IV. Based on this document, Gayangos' friend Adolfo de Castro had published an anonymous article in which he identified Doña Maria, the sister of Charles V, as Don John's mother, thus implying incest. Modesto Lafuente, the author of the ambitious *Historia General de España, desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días* (1850-1866, 30 vol.),¹⁰⁴⁵ countered this theory. Gayangos was critical of Modesto's article:

Don Modesto Lafuente had documents sent to him from Simancas proving that a pension had been paid to Barbara Bloomberg, [...], but he could not show in my opinion, that she, and no other, was his mother.”¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁴⁵ It became *The* general reference history until the period of the second Republic, ALVAREZ JUNCO, 2001, p.201

¹⁰⁴⁶ Gayangos to Stirling, 5 October 1867, MLG, T-SK 31. Box 12.

Gayangos pointed out that he had found a manuscript entitled *El Desengañado*, probably written by the marquis of Valparaíso, which threw some light on the issue. Gayangos had asked Paul Friedmann, a “Prussian gentleman”, a friend and collaborator of Bergenroth, to investigate the case. Friedmann procured “Castro’s and Lafuente’s articles, consulted the ms in the Natl Library, and, moreover, made researches in Simancas.”¹⁰⁴⁷ According to Friedmann, “Barbara was not Don Juan’s mother, but had been hired for the purpose [as a wet nurse] by Philip II’s minister at Vienna.” Friedmann could not reconcile himself to the idea that Don Juan was the son of Maria, and believed that he was the “son of another Maria, an Austrian princess closely related to Charles, but not his sister. He discovered that Barbara had been poor and “lived in obscurity up to the time that she was called upon to act as the mother of the prince.”¹⁰⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Gayangos had written to Friedmann for detailed information on the three documents, and on 7 October Friedmann sent him his report: “*Voilà ce que je sais depuis...*”¹⁰⁴⁹ He indicated that the article by de Castro was only a short notice, which appeared in the review *Ilustración*. It had been taken from *Vida secreta de Felipe II con notas del tiempo de Felipe IV en possession del Marqués de Pidal*.

In contrast, Lafuente’s longer article, published in *Revista de Ambos Mundos* in 1853, was based on a variety of documents. Friedmann judged some of the documents used by Modesto Lafuente as “*sans importance*” and pointed out that one document included the error of attributing a certain Hieronimus as one of Charles

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁴⁹ Friedmann to Gayangos, 7 October 1867, T-SK 31.Box 12. MLG

V's children, and indicated another correct source.¹⁰⁵⁰ He was going to send Gayangos the copies of the documents from Simancas, including those which Lafuente had not used. Regarding the manuscript *El Desengañado* in the Biblioteca Nacional, he had not found any reference to the subject. However, Friedman pointed out that Antonio de Osorio, author of a life of Don John, clearly said that Barbara Blomberg was not his mother. Friedmann allowed Gayangos to pass the copied documents to Stirling:

Si Sir William Stirling veut prendre connaissance des copies que je vous envoie ce jour même, je vous prie de les lui remettre et de l'autoriser à s'en servir. En ce cas je viendrai les réclamer ce printemps chez lui à Londres ou bien je le prierai de les remettre à Bergenroth à l'arrivée de ce dernier en Angleterre.

Having received Friedmann's letter dated 7 October 1867, Gayangos immediately forwarded it to Stirling together with an explanatory letter of his own written the next day in London:¹⁰⁵¹

I have just received the enclosed letter from Mr. Friedman, and I expect this evening or tomorrow morning from Paris, a lot of copies and papers from Simancas. You will let me know what to do with them. They are as it appears all relating to Barbara Bloomberg, the pensions paid to her. Having received the letter just now, at the shop of a Spanish watch maker called Losada, in Regent Street, I have at once sat down to write this from fear of not being able to do it later in the day. ...

Gayangos was not pleased with Friedmann's examination of the manuscript *El Desengañado*, from the *Biblioteca Nacional*:

... whatever Mr Friedman may say to the contrary, the manuscript of Valparaíso has the statement that the mother of Don John was the sister of

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Idem*. "Lafuente cites: Dn Maria de Hungria Carlos V 1557 etc. Madrid, Ac[ademia] de Historia C.107, sans importance. Un compte rendu des Cortes de Toledo 1560, duquel il apparait que Dn Juan alors n'avais pas encore 14 años cumplidos. Silva Catálogo Real de España qu'il a ... d'erreur en citant un Hieronimo parmi les fils de Charles V. Voir à ce sujet Granvelle *Papiers d'Etat* et Gachard. *Charles V à Yuste*."

¹⁰⁵¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 8 October 1867. MLG, T-SK 31. Box 12.

Charles V, Mary. I may have mistaken one book for another, or Mr F[riedmann] may have not read the particular place where the statement is made, but of course, I cannot verify the thing until I go to Madrid, unless Zarco himself undertakes the reading of the whole book with proper care etc. At any rate you see that Osorio denies that Barbara was his mother.¹⁰⁵²

Gayangos insisted that Stirling should keep the documents until next spring to examine them thoroughly, since Friedmann, travelling in Italy, did not plan to collect them before his return in April or May 1868.¹⁰⁵³ Stirling kept Modesto Lafuente's article, which is still amongst his notes. Thanks to Gayangos, he also had a transcription of part of the manuscript "*Vida Secreta de Felipe II – manuscript que posee el Exmo Sr. Marques de Pidal*."¹⁰⁵⁴ In the light of these different sources, Stirling remained vague in his statements about the identity of the real mother. He admitted that "considerable doubt" hung around the name and rank of Don John's mother, but stated that Barbara Blomberg, although she might not be Don John's natural mother, was "generally reputed to be the mother of Don John and that she was treated as such by Charles V and Philip II."¹⁰⁵⁵

Indefatigable as ever, Gayangos, writing from London in 1867, announced that he was going to return to Spain via Brussels, and he also intended to stop at Valladolid to spend "a couple of days at Simancas, where [...] Mr Bergenroth is working." If there was "anything to be done there", Gayangos wrote, "pray let me know."¹⁰⁵⁶ In Brussels, Gayangos tried to see Louis Prosper Gachard, the editor of many manuscripts kept at Simancas, including the correspondence of Philip II. Gayangos reported to Stirling that Gachard was ill and could not see him. He had

¹⁰⁵² *Idem*.

¹⁰⁵³ Gayangos to Stirling, October 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/17/43.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Transcript [Gayangos' handwriting] from "*Vida Secreta de Felipe 2º - Ms que posee el Exmo Sr. Marques de Pidal*" (4p), Stirling's notes. MLG, T-SK 31. Box 12

¹⁰⁵⁵ STIRLING, 1883, pp.2-3

¹⁰⁵⁶ Bergenroth to Stirling, 30 October 1867. MLG, T-SK 29/17/43

been told that the next volume of Philip's correspondence would not be out before February or March [1868]".¹⁰⁵⁷ By 1868, Gayangos was busy with his catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts in the British Museum, and therefore, probably unable to attend to Stirling's wishes so assiduously. From summer 1868, a certain Archibald Campbell, a friend of Bergenroth, started to work on the archives in Simancas. It seems that Stirling had asked Gayangos to communicate with him. However, Gayangos failed to do so. On 1 August 1868, Campbell wrote from Simancas to Stirling:

By a letter received a month ago from our common friend Mr Bergenroth, I learned that, in conversation with yourself about researches in Spanish archives, he had expressed a belief that I might be able to serve you; and that subsequently you had asked D. Pascual de Gayangos to communicate with me on the subject. The suggestion was entirely new to me.¹⁰⁵⁸

He further implied that Gayangos might not have communicated with him because he had not received Stirling's letter. There are several other letters, which demonstrate that Campbell started to search the archives for Stirling, responding to specific enquiries.¹⁰⁵⁹ Although Campbell and Bergenroth were now in Simancas working for Stirling for about a year, and Gayangos was busy with his catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts, the latter still kept Stirling's *Don John* in mind. He was unable to do research in Simancas, but whenever he came across something of interest, he alerted Stirling. For example in February 1870, he drew his attention to a manuscript:

whilst putting in order several loose papers and notes of books and mss to have them bound together, I found the following which I transcribe hoping it may be of use: Relacion sin titulo acerca de lo que passó en el deguello de Dn

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gayangos to Stirling, 20 November 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/17/44

¹⁰⁵⁸ Archibald Campbell to Stirling, 1 August 1868, MLG, T-SK 31 Box 12

¹⁰⁵⁹ Campbell to Stirling, 15 September 1868, 22 October 1868. *Idem*.

Antonio de Cordoba Montemayor, el cual fue acusado de haber querido matar a Don Juan de Austria y pretendió probar su inocencia fol 3 hoj. Ms.¹⁰⁶⁰

Gayangos had copied part of the volume in London at the British Museum, but he admitted that he had “neglected to put down the signature and other particulars of the volume”, but was quite certain that the manuscripts must be from “Papeles Varios”. Not all of Gayangos’ advice and recommendation found its way into Stirling’s work, and this is one such case.

Linguistic Services

Gayangos’ collaboration with Stirling also included a good deal of linguistic advice, proof-reading and translation. Some of this had begun with Stirling’s *Cloister Life of Charles V* (1852). In the chapter in which he explains Charles V’s conditions of retirement at Yuste, he indicates that according to an original source, Charles had reserved to himself “one sixteenth part of the rents of the crown”. In a footnote, he explains how such a statement actually created difficulties: “The technical words of Gaztelu are, ‘derechos de once y seis al millar’ – ‘duties of eleven and six in the thousand;’ of which I have been able to find no explanation.” In order to clarify the meaning of the statement, Stirling relied on Gayangos, stating: “My friend, Don Pascual de Gayangos, thinks that it ought, perhaps, to have been ‘onça y millar, meaning one sixteenth of a thousand or about 6 3/10 per cent. of the crown rents, the word ‘onça’ or ounce, the 1/16th of a pound being frequently used to denote that fraction.”¹⁰⁶¹ Gayangos thus helped Stirling to come to a better understanding of the original Spanish source. This initial help for Stirling’s book on Charles V triggered a long dependency by Stirling on Gayangos for linguistic advice for his *Don John of Austria*.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 23 Feb 1867, MLG, T-SK 31 Box 16

¹⁰⁶¹ STIRLING, 1852, p.95

The correspondence shows Gayangos helping Stirling to translate some of the Spanish letters into English. These translations were going to be edited together with the original texts in the appendix of *Don John of Austria*. In 1864, Stirling turned to Gayangos for help in the translation of a letter from Don John of Austria dated 29 October 1577. With his usual generosity, Gayangos replied: "Send me a transcript of the paragraph you allude to, and I will return it to you translated as well as I can."¹⁰⁶² By 1865, Stirling had given his work to the printer and sent Gayangos the first sheets of some of the Spanish letters. He wished Gayangos to proof-read them. Was the transcription correct? Gayangos suggested a few corrections:

I received the proof sheets by estafette. I have corrected them, as you see, putting accents and dots whenever it was indispensably necessary to distinguish á preposition from a third person of [illegible], está (from estar, from esta, and so forth.)... Should you deem it necessary to send me another set of proofs do not hesitate and let me have them as soon as convenient.¹⁰⁶³

The edition of the Spanish letters, in the appendix of Don John, clearly shows that Stirling took Gayangos' corrections into account. Here Gayangos' help is also acknowledged in several footnotes: Stirling explained that the insertions of certain words in the manuscript text were "suggested by Don Pascual de Gayangos as necessary to complete the sense."¹⁰⁶⁴

According to Gayangos' letter dated 8 September 1865, Stirling had sent Gayangos yet another set of proof sheets, containing translations into English. Gayangos replied: "I have looked over the proofs and made a few corrections, which

¹⁰⁶² Gayangos to Stirling, 15 January 1864, MLG, T-SK 29/14/124.

¹⁰⁶³ Gayangos to Stirling, 25 June 1865. MLG, T-SK 29/15/95

¹⁰⁶⁴ STIRLING, 1883, vol. 2, p. 378

in some passages change the sense of your translations.”¹⁰⁶⁵ In a long letter he explained in detail his corrections affecting a series of paragraphs of the manuscript text. For example:

I think yiniendo de camino refers to Philip II who must at that time have been journeying towards Cordova or Granada. Don John, himself lower down in his letter alludes to the person of the King ‘being so near’ to the theatre of war. I would therefore change the passage thus, ‘not to weary your Majesty, whilst on his journey with too long a letter.’¹⁰⁶⁶

Stirling, satisfied with Gayangos’ proof-reading, continued to send him his translations. In an undated letter (probably 1865), Gayangos responded by revealing he had undertaken some minor changes:

I return you enclosed the proof sheets sent by your printer. There is hardly any correction to be made in the Spanish as you will see. I have only looked to the punctuation, and changed a into à whenever it happens to be a preposition, in order that it may not [be] mistake[n] for e & a (he, ha) from the verb haber.

In general Gayangos felt that the translations by Stirling from the Spanish texts into English were “admirably executed considering the difficulty of the text”, however he made a series of important suggestions in order to improve the translation of ten passages in the letter of Don John to Magdalena de Ulloa of 1570. Stirling’s final English version edited in the appendix of *Don John of Austria* is very close, if not identical to Gayangos’ suggestions. Stirling acknowledged Gayangos’ assistance in the translation of the letters in a footnote in the appendix:

I have also to acknowledge the valuable aid rendered to me [...] in the English translations, the familiar colloquial style of the original letters causing frequent obscurities of meaning not to be penetrated by any translator who does not possess, like Don Pascual, the advantage of being equally master of Spanish and of English. Even with this aid I fear there are a few passages of which the sense is still doubtful.¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶⁵ Gayangos to Stirling, 8 September 1865, MLG, T-SK 29/15/101

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Idem*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ STIRLING, 1883, vol. 2, p.462

Another letter from Gayangos dated 16 September 1865, deals with the problem of translating Spanish military titles. Stirling had turned to Gayangos for advice on the term “*Maestre de Campo*” that featured in a letter by Don John to Philip II. Stirling wished to edit the letter together with a translation in the appendix of his *Don John of Austria*. Stirling had translated “*maestre de campo*” into “adjutant general”, but Gayangos explained that this was not correct since a “*maestre de campo*” had a higher rank than an “adjutant general”. He explained:

Maestre, Masetro or Maese de Campo was the commanding officer of a *tercio*, whether of Spaniards, neapolitans, wallons or belgians. The forces of the *tercio* varied very much; and some time it consisted of infantry, cavalry and artillery. It answers exactly to what the French call now a days a brigade. In more modern times master de campo de un *tercio* was equivalent to colonel, and it was in Germany during the 30 years war that they began to be so called chiefly in the cavalry. I do not believe that your adjutant general, if you had then such an office, is the right translation for *maestre de Campo*. I have not by me Motley’s works, but I dare say by looking into them you will find the solution of the difficulty. How does he designate Francisco Valdes Sancho de Londoño, Cristobal Lechuga, Mondragon and others who commanded the Spanish *tercios* en Flanders?¹⁰⁶⁸

Stirling respected Gayangos’ advice and translated “*Maestre de Campo*” with “Brigadier-General”. In addition, thanks to Gayangos’ detailed note, Stirling realised that in order to make the British reader understand the meaning of “*Maestre de Campo*”, he needed to explain in a footnote what such a title implied. Stirling’s footnote is nothing else than an abridgement of Gayangos’ note, almost reproduced word by word.¹⁰⁶⁹ However, here Stirling disappoints for not acknowledging Gayangos help.¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁶⁸ Gayangos to Stirling, 16 September, MLG, T-SK 29/15/102.

¹⁰⁶⁹ STIRLING, 1883, vol. II, p. 368.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The information on “*maestre de campo*”, originally provided by Gayangos, also made its way into the more recent biography of Don John by the author Charles Petrie (1967), although in a more abridged version. PETRIE, 1967, p.99

Illustrations

Not only did Gayangos help Stirling with his literary endeavours, but he was also of assistance in the collection of prints, photographs and paintings both for the illustration of books and for Stirling's collection. Some of this visual material was to be included in *Don John of Austria*. According to the preface, Stirling wished to "enable the reader to form a life-like idea of the age in which Don John for a few years played a prominent part, and of the chief personages, who, with him, were actors in the great drama."¹⁰⁷¹ The illustrative part of the book turned out to be substantial. In total Stirling had over one-hundred illustrations made, either from painted or engraved portraits, medals, emblems and arms; some provided by Gayangos who teamed up with Carderera.¹⁰⁷² Gayangos remained the main correspondent over all aspects of Stirling as cultural historian. He supervised the commission and the dispatch of the prints, paintings and photographs, whilst Carderera was directly involved in the execution of copies and prints.

By 1863, Stirling had approached Gayangos about portraits of Don John's adoptive parents, Magdalena de Ulloa and Luis Méndez de Quijada. Gayangos replied the same April: "There is a full sized portrait of D^a Magdalena de Ulloa in one of the chapels of the convent of Villagarcía, which she founded. Carderera had not seen it."¹⁰⁷³ The portrait of Don John's adoptive mother still hangs in the church of the convent of San Luis. However, Gayangos doubted that he could find someone who was prepared to go to the remote town of Villagarcía:

¹⁰⁷¹ STIRLING, 1883, p. vi

¹⁰⁷² Carderera also provided the illustrations for Prescott's *Philip II* (except for one). PRESCOTT, *Philip II*, 1855, p.xxi

¹⁰⁷³ Gayangos to Stirling, 25 April 1863. MLG, T-SK 29/13/117

whether there will be at Valladolid a painter willing to go to Villagarcia and make a sketch, or a photograph if you choose, but that is what we cannot at present say with certainty. Let us know whether you wish it done and what size it is to be.¹⁰⁷⁴

Stirling was interested in having the copy of the portrait made, but nothing happened.

Over a year later, Gayangos admitted that the situation was rather hopeless:

I have called on Carderera and reminded him of his promise about the portrait of Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, but I am sorry to say nothing has been done about it. He wrote twice to the director of the Academy at Valladolid, who is a friend of his, begging him to send on to Villagarcia some draftsman who would make a sketch of it, but he never got an answer, and I am afraid you must for the present give up all hope of illustrating your Don Juan, with a portrait of his supposed mother.¹⁰⁷⁵

A little later, Gayangos informed Stirling that Carderera had not been successful. The Director of the Academy had never responded to the request, and no copyist had been found. Nevertheless, Gayangos promised that Zarco de Valle "would attend to it" in the summer.¹⁰⁷⁶ There is no further reference to Zarco and the portrait of Magdalena de Ulloa. All attempts seem to have been fruitless. On the other hand, the portrait of Luis M. Quijada had been obtained and Gayangos hoped that perhaps for a second "edition of the book we may contemplate her features by the side of those of Don Luis."¹⁰⁷⁷ In Stirling's *Don John of Austria*, there is indeed a portrait of Don John's adoptive father. The illustration is based on a picture by Titian, which according to Stirling's caption was in a private collection in Madrid, "in the possession of the Conde de Oñate."¹⁰⁷⁸ There is no indication how Stirling obtained a

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁷⁵ Gayangos to Stirling, 15 March 1864. MLG, T-SK 29/14/125.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Nothing has been done about D^a Magdalena de Ulloa. Carderera never received an answer from the Director of the Academy at Valladolid, to whom he gave the [order?] but Mr. Zarco promises to attend to it this summer." Gayangos to Stirling, [1864]. MLG, T-SK 29.14.126

¹⁰⁷⁷ Gayangos to Stirling, 15 March 1864. MLG, T-SK 29/14/125

¹⁰⁷⁸ STIRLING, 1883, vol.I, list of illustrations "Luis Quijada, Guardian of Don John of Austria. From a picture by Titian in the possession of the Conde de Oñate in Madrid." Illustration on p. 6

copy of the portrait. However, it is likely that Gayangos and Carderera between them, fixed it.

There is further evidence that Gayangos and Carderera contributed to *Don John of Austria* with at least two illustrations of the hero himself. In the letter dated March 1864, quoted above, Gayangos informed Stirling that “Carderera promised to send me in a day or two a print or portrait for you. If he does, I will send it through estafette”.¹⁰⁷⁹ This may have been one of the portraits representing Don John. One is a half-length acknowledged as having been made “from a portrait of Don John in the possession of Valentin Carderera.”¹⁰⁸⁰ In April 1865, Gayangos prepared a parcel for Stirling, comprising miscellaneous material, including prints, books, engravings, photographs and “a picture rolled-up in a cylinder” from Carderera.¹⁰⁸¹ This must be the portrait of Don John of Austria to which Zarco de Valle referred in his letter dated 19 April 1865 to Stirling: “Il [Carderera] m’a dit qu’il livrerait bientôt à Gayangos le portrait de D. Juan de Austria, enlevé de son chagrin et proprement roulé par le restaurateur M. Brun.”¹⁰⁸² This restored portrait entered Stirling’s collection. It was subsequently engraved and included in *Don John of Austria*. According to the list of illustrations, the engraving was made “from a picture, now at Keir, [which was] supposed to be an old copy of the portrait by Alonso Sánchez de Coello, formerly in the Portrait Room at the Pardo, destroyed by fire in 1604”¹⁰⁸³ It is also likely that Gayangos’ parcel of 1865 included the print of Don John, which is

¹⁰⁷⁹ Gayangos to Stirling, Madrid, March 15 1864. MLG, T-SK 29. 14.125

¹⁰⁸⁰ STIRLING, 1883, vol II, list of illustrations, and p. 5

¹⁰⁸¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 April 1865. MLG, T-SK 29/15/92

¹⁰⁸² Zarco to Stirling, 19 April 1864, MLG, T-SK 29/15/378

¹⁰⁸³ STIRLING, 1883, vol.I, p.xvi, and p.215

reproduced in *Don John* under the caption “made from a picture, supposed to be by a Flemish artist, now in the Royal Museum in Madrid.”¹⁰⁸⁴

In short, Gayangos and Carderera helped Stirling to obtain at least two, perhaps even three out of the four illustrations of painted portraits of Don John, and were thus instrumental in fulfilling his ambition to provide the reader with a life-like idea of the protagonist. In short, the joint efforts of Gayangos and Carderera enabled Stirling to include the key illustrations to the book.

Gayangos was not only energetically in pursuit of copies of Golden Age portraits, but alert to, and involved with, the new art form of photography. In a letter dated May 1865, Gayangos made reference to “Mme Clifford”, that is to say Jane Clifford, wife of Charles Clifford (London, 1819-Madrid, 1863), the distinguished British photographer who had lived and worked in Spain since 1850, where he had received official commissions from both the Spanish and the British crown. His photographs of monuments, landscapes, cityscapes, portraits and art objects made him famous in his own lifetime. After his sudden death in 1863, Jane continued her husband’s work in Madrid, having clients in Spain and Great Britain, including the South Kensington Museum, from whom she received a commission for over 130 photographs of precious objects (from the collection of the Royal Museum in Madrid).¹⁰⁸⁵ Gayangos was the link between Jane Clifford and Stirling, himself the first person to use photography in an art history book. It seems that in 1865, Stirling had commissioned a series of photographs from her. Gayangos was the intermediary, writing to Stirling that Jane Clifford was

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, see list of illustrations, and p. 317

¹⁰⁸⁵ FONTANELLA, 1999, pp.215-228. Based on these photographs the South Kensington Museum committee decided which objects should be purchased

about to send some of her own photographs to London, and would avail herself of this opportunity to send you [Stirling] the negative of portraits, and so forth.¹⁰⁸⁶

It is uncertain who was represented in these portraits. Were these photographs of painted portraits? In the event however, Stirling did not include any photographs in *Don John of Austria*. I would suggest that his death in 1878 prevented him from doing this. We find one further reference to Jane Clifford in another letter, this time from Zarco de Valle to Stirling, dated November 1865. It seems that Stirling wished to have a photograph of a piece of Charles V's armour, and had asked Zarco to commission it. Gayangos had just come back from Paris and was busy with proof-reading Stirling's translations from a series of Spanish manuscripts. Zarco replied:¹⁰⁸⁷

.... tuve tiempo ... para ir a casa de Mme Clifford a hacer su encargo de V referente al casco de Carlos V. Mme Clifford me dijo ... que quedaba en hacer la fotografia, de frente, como V desea p^a que se vean los dos figuras que tienen asi los bigotes del soldado o guerrero que corona dicho casco. ... dice que puede entregarmelo dentro de unos dias.

Stirling was fascinated by armour, swords, badges and medals. Illustrations of such objects abound in *Don John of Austria*. Along with the portraits of historical figures, these gave a "life-like idea of the age in which Don John for a few years played a prominent part."¹⁰⁸⁸ Here we find Charles V's helmet, just as described by Zarco. It is seen from the front, with the two figures holding the moustache of the figure of the soldier who covers the top of the helmet. The print was certainly based on Clifford's

¹⁰⁸⁶ Gayangos to Stirling, 10 April 1865, MLG, TSK 29/15/92

¹⁰⁸⁷ Zarco to Stirling, 22 November 1865. MLG, TSK 29/15/381

¹⁰⁸⁸ STIRLING, 1883, vol.I, p. vi

photograph. Stirling's caption only states: "*Helmet of Charles V. In the Armeria Real at Madrid.*"¹⁰⁸⁹ No credit is given to Zarco, Gayangos, Clifford or the engraver.

Mutual assistance in the dealings with institutions

Gayangos was also an intermediary between Stirling and Spanish institutions, such as the Seville Society of Bibliophiles and the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid. In March 1868, writing from Seville, Gayangos informed Stirling that he had made him "member of a Society of bibliophiles here (a different one from that which was started at Madrid in 1865) and promising to be quite as good."¹⁰⁹⁰ The society had just printed a new edition of the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* by Andrea Bernaldez, limited to 200 copies for the cost of 20 reales each. Gayangos, confident of knowing Stirling's interests, had paid the first membership dues for him ("5 dollars or £1.1 in going in").¹⁰⁹¹ Gayangos also informed Stirling of his official nomination by the *Real Academia de la Historia* as honorary member. He explained that this was "a degree higher than correspondent." Gayangos gave Stirling clear instructions about what he should do next. Gayangos, probably feeling more confident about Stirling's French than Spanish, recommended that he should "answer in French or English" to "acknowledge the receipt of the letter, offer your services as is customary in such cases and ask the secretary to thank the Academy in your name

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49

¹⁰⁹⁰ Gayangos to Stirling, 23 March 1868, MLG, T-SK 31 Box 14

¹⁰⁹¹ *Idem.*

Gayangos was then in Seville, researching the *Archivo de Indias* and Cathedral library. Notebook, BN, Mss 18478, ff.36-42

that is all”¹⁰⁹² Stirling’s certificate of membership was in Gayangos’ care, and he wrote:

If you are in a hurry for your diploma which I have had put into a tin case, I will have it sent through our Legation when there is an opportunity. If not in a hurry, I will be the bearer of it myself next May.¹⁰⁹³

Later, when dealing with the *Real Academia de la Historia*, Stirling continued to go through Gayangos, for example, when in 1870, he sent his edition “*Examples of the Ornamental Heraldry of the Sixteenth century*” to Gayangos to give it to the *Academia de la Historia* as a gift.¹⁰⁹⁴

We have seen that Gayangos’ assistance and connections in Spain were essential. In return, Gayangos did not hesitate to approach Stirling with his own projects, writing in 1850:

I have frequently thought that the English government ought to have the archives of this country well searched and [faithful] transcripts made of everything relating to the history of England, principally in the reign of Philip II, III and IV, when our diplomatic relations were very active. I found a large volume of original letters of Count Gondomar whilst Ambassador at the Court of England, and in the Queen’s private Library there are about thirty more mostly written in cipher. Mine contains among others, original letters of a man named Morgan who was a spy of the Count’s.¹⁰⁹⁵

Years later, in February 1867, Gayangos explained that he wanted to work on the correspondence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to London during the reign of James I. He had perused Gondomar’s correspondence and considered the period very interesting for the history of England. He stated:

I would willingly undertake the task. I am told that the Master of the Rolls gives occasionally commissions to write calendars of events during particular

¹⁰⁹² Gayangos to Stirling, 10 March 1868, MLG, T-SK 29/18/88

¹⁰⁹³ *Idem*

¹⁰⁹⁴ Sabau (RAH) to Stirling, 3 Feb 1870, MLG, T-SK/21/134

¹⁰⁹⁵ Gayangos to Stirling, 23 February 1850, MLG, T-SK 29/5/210

reigns, and I could very well with the papers at Simancas, and those in Madrid, make one for the reign of James I of England.¹⁰⁹⁶

Gayangos then asked Stirling whether he could “in any way forward this *projet*” of his.¹⁰⁹⁷ He referred to the project again in another letter in 1867, saying that if his application had no success, he was going to turn his attention “towards a descriptive catalogue of the Spanish mss in British Museum.”¹⁰⁹⁸ Stirling probably tried to help, because Gayangos kept him informed of progress. But then in October 1867, Gayangos admitted that his attempts had been unsuccessful.

The Master of the Rolls has no money for the present to devote to the publication of Gondomar’s papers, and the British Museum trustees have not met to take into consideration my proposal.¹⁰⁹⁹

Gayangos was very perceptive. The Gondomar’s papers have proved indeed to be the most valuable objective non-English source for the reign of James I.¹¹⁰⁰

Gayangos then asked Stirling to assist him in approaching the Trustees of the British Museum to forward his plan for a catalogue of the Spanish manuscripts. In a further letter, Gayangos thanked Stirling for his help:

I shall be grateful for your assistance in the little affair mentioned in my last. Hayward has kindly promised to speak to Mr Grote and to Lord Stanhope who are likewise trustees of the B.M....¹¹⁰¹

Thus the first foundation of Gayangos’ second important project in Britain were laid with the assistance of Stirling. Gayangos’ eighteen years of friendship and assistance

¹⁰⁹⁶ Gayangos to Stirling, February 1867. MLG, T-SK 31. Box 16

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Idem.*

¹⁰⁹⁸ Gayangos to Stirling, [1867]. MLG, T-SK 29/17/45

¹⁰⁹⁹ Gayangos to Stirling, 23 October 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/17/42

¹¹⁰⁰ Gayangos succeeded in publishing in Spain: *Cinco Cartas politico-literarias de D. Diego Sarmiento de Acuna: primer Conde de Gondomar*, 1869, 4 vols.

¹¹⁰¹ Gayangos to Stirling, 30 October 1867, MLG, T-SK 29/17/43

to the British author since 1849 started to pay off now by helping him to realise his own projects in Britain.

What has then emerged from this chapter is that Gayangos was for twenty years Stirling's most important and reliable collaborator in Madrid. Theirs was a relationship which had started with their mutual passion for books and manuscripts. Through Gayangos, Stirling made some of the most valuable purchases for the famous library at Keir: Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*, conspicuous amongst them. But soon Gayangos, as historian and scholar, became absolutely central to the making of *Don John of Austria*, the first biography in English. Gayangos was involved in all aspects of Stirling's project: the most important part of this assistance lay in the provision of manuscripts, both unpublished and published. Stirling, like Prescott, relied on Gayangos' historical and bibliographical expertise: he sourced relevant material, selected the most important letters and accounts, transcribed them himself, or had copies made. Gayangos made collations of unpublished and published letters, and facilitated access to material kept in his own possession or at the *Real Academia de la Historia*. His excellent bibliographical knowledge allowed him to alert Stirling to useful manuscripts not only in Spain but also in Britain. Concurrently, aware of pressures of time and other professional obligations, he networked for Stirling, in particular from the 1860s.

With the help of Gayangos, Stirling's *Don John of Austria* really contributed to sixteenth-century Spanish studies. Through the full transcription of a series of letters of Don John, provided by Gayangos and Zarco, Stirling's book became a pioneering work. Gayangos' involvement with the editing of the originals and their

translation guaranteed a high standard. The publication of the Spanish originals and the translations have proved of lasting value; finding their way into modern biographies. Whilst Stirling gave Gayangos credit for the series of letters of Don John to Rodrigo de Mendoza published in the appendix, in other cases, his assistance went unnoticed. Gayangos had been far more than a scribe to Prescott, Ticknor and Ford; so too he assisted Stirling with his discoveries and offerings about specific historical events or figures. Gayangos networked, providing essential information on the identity of Don John's mother, Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Antonio Osorio and others. Although Gayangos' own notes and his advice to Stirling are clearly echoed in Stirling's work, the author did not give credit for this kind of contribution.

In addition to assistance with the narrative, Gayangos' also contributed, albeit to a lesser degree, to the illustrations. Gayangos and Carderera together supplied several portraits of central figures. The only portrait of Quijada included in *Don John of Austria* was provided by them, as well as at least two of the four portraits of Don John (based on paintings).

Stirling had spent time in Spain in the 1840s, whilst preparing the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*. Then he had made important contacts with Spaniards who assisted him to some degree, such as the painter José Roldán, who was helpful for illustrative material.¹¹⁰² For advice and help, Stirling relied on Ford to some degree, but essentially the *Annals* were entirely his own. Whilst working as a historian on *Don John of Austria*, that is from 1850 onwards, dynamics changed: Stirling visited Spain only twice. It would appear that Stirling, like Prescott and Ticknor, neglected

¹¹⁰² HEIDE, *Seville seen through the lens of the Annals of the Artists of Spain by William Stirling*, unpublished MSc Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2000, pp.19-23

field work in Spain. However, Stirling went to Spain more frequently. That having been acknowledged in no way detracts from the central importance of Gayangos to the genesis of Stirling's oeuvre. What this chapter has demonstrated is that, as with Prescott and Ticknor, Gayangos must be seen as one whose intervention significantly contributed to the creation of a central work in the historiography of the Golden Age: the biography of Don John of Austria.



Pascual de Gayangos (1909-1897)
Photograph, n.d.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

What has emerged from this thesis is that Pascual de Gayangos, a patriotic and even more versatile scholar than hitherto recognised, made a significant difference to the Anglo-American world of scholarship in the nineteenth century. What brought him to Britain was frustration with the state of culture and politics in Spain, a British marriage, and admiration for British scholarship. At no time was he a political exile like those who had been in London some years before. Gayangos' arrival in England was timely: he represented a 'rarity' after most of the other political exiles had left, at a time, which witnessed the Anglo-American appropriation of Spanish culture. His social skills, a robust mind and intellect, combined with expertise and generosity, made him much sought after; a scholar whose reputation travelled beyond London to Europe and New England.

Gayangos responded to a latent enthusiasm and interest in things Spanish with generosity and integrity. He was launched into British society from the platform of Holland House. Although he enjoyed hospitality at Holland House and most importantly, the support of Lord Holland himself, at no time did he become the mouthpiece or apologist for Whig politics; he never shunned criticising authors of high social standing. He was even prepared to criticise Lockhart for aspects of his translation of Spanish verse, although part of his criticism was suppressed by censorial intervention on the part of the *Athenaeum* editors. Writing on the medieval *Cortes*, Gayangos presented a more measured view than had prevailed before; his arguments demystified the idealistic and Whiggish view which fondly nurtured the idea of an historic 'liberal' tradition in Spain. Gayangos said what he thought. This

could be seen in his early years in Madrid, where he became a pushy and sometimes inconvenient element in educational or cultural politics, constantly calling for improvement. His reviews and scholarly work are marked by an approach based on sound research and a drive for 'hard fact'. Such characteristics related him to the great father of modern history, Leopold van Ranke.

Gayangos rigorously distanced himself from the 'romantic' approach to Spain. With regard to the Moors, his scholarship is marked by his relentless commitment to correcting erroneous views received uncritically from early Christian historians. Here, his *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties* was a great step forward from the confused attempts of José Antonio Conde. With this, now there was a compilation of primary sources written by Moorish historians offering an uninterrupted history of al-Andalus from the conquest to the expulsion. Gayangos thus made the Moorish point of view available to all not versed in Arabic. The book promoted the importance of Moorish Spain, as a civilisation to be proud of. *Mohammedan Dynasties* has long been recognised as the chief work of Gayangos; a landmark in the historiography of Moorish Spain. It is still of great historical value today.

Gayangos' articles and reviews in the influential *Athenaeum*, hitherto neglected by scholars, were also an important contribution to the progress of scholarship on Moorish Spain and a major corrective to the then prevalent amateurism applied to the subject. There he warned against the use of inadequate sources and called for more rigorous standards of scholarship. In dismissing some of the British writers as poor, Gayangos was showing the way forward. This appeal to raise standards is also evident in projects for editing, translating and interpreting

Arabic sources. Although he was not able to carry these projects out, they reveal his ambition and systematic labour to ensure future progress. Gayangos was aware that before writing creatively on Moorish Spain, it was necessary to access and understand available Arabic sources. This, in Gayangos' words would prepare "*el campo á nuestros hijos, para que hagan, lo que años ha debiera estar hecho, á saber una colección de escritores Árabes de cosas de España.*"¹¹⁰³

What Gayangos could not use in his own work, he poured into the books of others. Ford, Stirling-Maxwell, Ticknor and Prescott were all provided with ample and detailed information, which encouraged them to give the Moorish dimension a more prominent position. Gayangos increased intellectual awareness of Moorish culture, thus reinstating its importance. The same happened materially: the British Museum increased its collection of Moorish coins through his endeavours.

It has been argued that as an Arabist Gayangos was writing from a patriotic view, wishing to vindicate the importance of Moorish civilisation in Spain. Whilst this is certainly true, it should be recognised his interests went beyond the Spanish dimension, something manifest: in his authoritative review of Lane's *Arabic Nights*; his article on Turkey; his collection of antiquities coming from all over the Mediterranean basin. The latter represents the most precious deposit of oriental antiquities in the *Real Academia de la Historia*.

However, what has also emerged in my thesis is that Gayangos, although an Arabist by education, was a man of real intellectual breadth. His reviews and dialogues with British and American men of letters show his interest in art and

¹¹⁰³ Gayangos to Navarrete, 25 March 1841, ALVAREZ MILLAN, 2003, p.24

architecture, a facet hitherto unremarked. Gayangos' versatile knowledge of art, literature and the history of Spain, combined with a dedication to promote scholarship on Spain, made him the most important point of reference within Anglo-American intellectual circles. It was *de rigueur* for anyone who wished to write on Spain to consult Gayangos. He was ever ready with information and material: helping a wide range of people, in various degrees. He found time to assist those with a lesser, or no scholarly reputation at all, regardless of their political standpoints. Gayangos was a teacher, who welcomed all men of letters, like Ashbee, Halliwell, Cosens, Guthrie, Madden, Forster and Lane-Poole, to the great Victorian authorities on Spain.

Gayangos' became conductor to a first class quartet: Ford, Prescott, Stirling and Ticknor. Ford was the one who knew Spain best, but Gayangos' contributions to his *Handbook*, and its two subsequent editions, made the work much more authoritative. Ford derived from Gayangos much etymological, bibliographic, topographical and historical information on Moorish and Christian Spain. Gayangos' research in Simancas enabled Ford to include in his second edition the first notice ever that shed new light on Charles V's years at Yuste. These proved that the established view of the last months of the Emperor's life was wrong. Gayangos proof-read, corrected and added to the first draft of the *Handbook*. In short, Gayangos was a supervisor and mentor to Ford, enabling a work of real and lasting distinction, different in kind to other accounts emerging in the nineteenth century, which were amateurish and superficial. Ford, a *chevalier de la plume*, only became a scholarly authority with Gayangos as mentor.

The contributions to Prescott stand out as the most important, but it is ironic that the two men never met and did not enjoy as nearly the same cordial and warm friendship as Gayangos and Ford. Yet, Gayangos was Prescott's 'godfather' and his indefatigable, persistent and efficient collaborator, without whom the history of *Philip II* and *Charles V* would never have been written. As a true godfather, Gayangos provided Prescott with vital psychological support. He encouraged wider horizons, more reading, greater examination and the use of more facts to back up arguments. Prescott entirely relied on Gayangos for the bibliography to *Philip II*, which involved selection and provision of books, both recent and old and rare printed accounts. When Gayangos felt that Prescott neglected certain areas, he pressed for their inclusion. He also helped Prescott to understand and digest what he had found, by annotating it or commenting on it, even suggesting how to use it in his *Philip II*. Gayangos inspired, encouraged and guided Prescott.

Equally important was the physical provision of material. Gayangos not only made his own collection available, but systematically visited European archives. His willpower and perseverance enabled him to overcome all practical difficulties to gain access to Simancas. His bibliographical expertise, historical knowledge, and capacity for scanning documents, even indeed memorising texts, enabled him to source and select originals, which he either transcribed himself, or had copies made. The outcome was vital to Prescott. New documents on Charles V triggered Prescott's motivation to write a separate account of *Charles V* which rendered Robertson's obsolete. Prescott's *Philip II* would not have happened without Gayangos' encouragement, inspiration, guidance, selection and provision of material. As with

Ford, the relationship was one between supervisor and student, but focusing on work not play.

Parallel to his collaboration with Prescott and Ford, Gayangos also helped Ticknor. The pattern is similar: Gayangos was essential in the selection and provision of material, thus broadening Ticknor's horizon and making his *History* infinitely more ambitious than he could have achieved alone. Ticknor depended on Gayangos' guidance through the lesser known corners of literature, both old and recent. Selected material sent across the Atlantic was never dispatched without commentary to guide and inspire. Ticknor's edition of *aljamiado* texts was entirely due to Gayangos. As with Prescott, Gayangos never tired of providing material, pushing Ticknor to acquire more and more, until indeed, the end of Ticknor's life. Gayangos helped Ticknor to digest the sources, and understand them. He also encouraged a more critical attitude to earlier writers, even to Ticknor's early mentor, José Antonio Conde. In addition, Gayangos enabled Ticknor to settle the controversy over the *Buscapié*. As with Ford, certainly Ticknor could have written his book alone. But it would not have become the standard history of Spanish literature, outdating Bouterwek and Sismondi. Again the pattern with Ford was here repeated. Gayangos continued to collaborate with Ticknor after publication.

Gayangos did what he never undertook with the works of Ford, Stirling or Prescott: he translated Ticknor into Spanish, presenting it to a Spanish readership together with extracts of manuscripts and copious notes which were his own. Much of this amplified and corrected Ticknor, thus adding more depth to the original *History*. Gayangos' work on the *History* served Ticknor as an important stimulant to undertake more research himself in Europe. This again was partly guided by

Gayangos. As a result, parts of the *History* were rewritten for a new edition in English, and part of Gayangos' notes integrated. In comparison, however, Gayangos' *Historia* is superior in scholarly information and depth than Ticknor's English second edition.

What then of Stirling in comparison with the other three? By the time Gayangos started to assist Stirling (1849), collaboration with the others had become systematic. Similar patterns emerge: Gayangos provided Stirling with rare and important books, some of which represented key sources to Golden Age history, architecture and art. Gayangos did not just respond with enthusiasm to Stirling's requests, but also widened horizons, by making new material available. For Stirling's pioneering book on *Don John de Austria*, Gayangos became central: he sourced and selected material, both published and unpublished; made his own deposits available, and facilitated Stirling in his dealings with the *Real Academia de la Historia*. Gayangos' linguistic advice and proof-reading of Stirling's transcriptions of original texts, together with their translation into English, was central. What Gayangos was unable to achieve on his own, he recruited others to do: Carderera, who had already helped Prescott with illustrations; and also Zarco del Valle, Jane Clifford, Bergenroth, Friedmann and Archibald Campbell. The results of all this were excellent: Stirling's book was the first on the subject in English; in addition it included a series of unknown documents, thus making a long-lasting contribution to studies on sixteenth century Spain.

Certainly, the most important contributions, in terms of guidance, effort, research and provision of material, were directed towards Prescott; so extensive were

they that they bordered on co-authorship. Those requiring comparatively little effort and time were for Ford. Here there is an irony: Ford made acknowledgements to Gayangos whenever possible in the *Handbook*, a guide book strictly speaking, where space was limited. Prescott's acknowledgements, however, are not only insufficient but also distorted. Whilst not reflecting Gayangos' real presence at all, less important contributions made by other intellectuals are over-emphasised. Yet Prescott admired Gayangos as much as Ford. However in print he was not willing to admit this dependency; though the Prescott correspondence is full of respectful remarks which reveal real admiration. Ticknor, like Prescott, expressed his gratitude in the preface, but failed to reflect how much he had benefited. Prescott was meticulous about keeping records of praise received from other scholars, and clearly enjoyed basking in his success. But all this went with an inability to admit to his admiring readers that his success was actually also Gayangos'.

In Stirling's case, acknowledgements for the provision of certain important documents are made in the footnotes and the appendix of *Don John of Austria*; however many times, Gayangos' contributions go unnoticed. Gayangos' real importance to *Don John* is not reflected in the preface written by George Cox after Stirling's death. Would Stirling have put his acknowledgements to Gayangos in the preface if he had written it himself? Stirling can be given the benefit of doubt. However, not so with Ticknor and especially Prescott. Their patronising acknowledgements conceal Gayangos' real contributions to them.

What then were the advantages for Gayangos in sustaining the four men who created Spain for the Victorian imagination? The bonds between Ford and Gayangos were not only tied by passion for things Spanish. Ford offered Gayangos and his family genuine friendship; providing Gayangos society contacts. Ford kept Gayangos informed of scholarship and book-sales in Britain, and for all Gayangos' kindness, Ford offered his collection of Moorish coins as a gift. Gayangos certainly liked Ford, and enjoyed his friendship, but perhaps, what pleased him most, was how the *Handbook* included only accurate information on Moorish Spain. Gayangos induced Ford to promote scholarship on Moorish Spain and vindicate its importance.

What did Prescott do for Gayangos? In terms of social contacts, warm friendship, and official acknowledgement, the relationship differed from that with Ford. Gayangos' review of *Ferdinand and Isabella*, and subsequent collaboration, triggered a whole chain of events, bringing Gayangos through Prescott into contact with Ticknor and Ford. This brought Gayangos prestige and opened further doors leading deeper into London society, and thus furthering Gayangos' career. As regards money, Gayangos enjoyed a loan from Prescott, which the latter never wanted back. At a time of financial difficulties, it presented a welcome gift, although initially Gayangos had been more than reluctant to accept it. Furthermore, his work for Prescott inspired and stimulated his own, qualifying him for his involvement with the publication of: *The Calendar of State Papers*; *The Catalogue of the Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, and the edition of primary material relevant to Golden Age history. The Prescott connection represented a good career move, brought money, and intellectual stimulus. In addition, it was an important outlet for

his interest in Morisco culture in sixteenth century Spain. However, what Gayangos thought of Prescott's vague and distorted acknowledgements is open to speculation.

The contribution of Gayangos to Ticknor as compared with Gayangos' relationship with Prescott was much more visible. Here, to some extent, Gayangos had succeeded in making Ticknor's book his own. This he had done by translating it, adding copious comments and new extracts, and also by inserting his own name under Ticknor's on the title page. Ticknor's book became a context in which to publish his own views and research. All this would live on in a book the first edition of which had already established for its primary author a solid reputation. In addition, Gayangos work for Ticknor stimulated his own: *Conquista de Ultramar*, and *Catálogo de libros de caballería*.

Gayangos' relationship with Stirling resembles that of Ford. Stirling offered friendship and welcomed him into his own circles, including his home in Keir. Gayangos was pleased and certainly enjoyed Stirling's visit to Spain. Indeed Stirling was the only one of the four who ever visited Gayangos in Iberia. Equally important, Stirling assisted Gayangos with aspects of his career in Britain; he helped to submit his proposal for the *Catalogue of the Spanish Manuscripts* to the British Museum.

Thus all these relationships brought benefits. What began as an intermittent process of support and collaboration grew soon into a regular involvement and systematic commitment to sustain the endeavours of those who, in the eyes of Gayangos, were opening up the treasures of Spanish culture for an English speaking

readership. Thus it follows that collaboration was not simply the instincts of one who by any standards was exceptionally generous. That indeed played a part but commitment was sustained by a burning desire on the part of Gayangos that others, if not Spaniards, had to do justice to the culture of Iberia. Assistance to foreign scholars soon became persistent and systematic; the greatest nineteenth-century Hispanists depending on him. Compared with other known collaborations between Spaniards and Anglo-Americans, (such as Navarrete/Prescott, Luis Usoz/George Borrow, José Roldán/Stirling), Gayangos' collaborative work is outstanding in range and scope, systematic effort and quality. But perhaps such prodigious effort, such significant input was not without self-interest, driven maybe by passionate commitment to the promotion of the cultural life of Spain, in particular that of the Moors. Gayangos' collaborations are quite different from Usoz' collaboration with Borrow. Usoz hoped that Borrow would name him co-author of *Bible in Spain*. He was clearly disappointed this did not happen so accused Borrow of having misled him. At the end they fell out. Gayangos never made such a complaint, not even to Prescott. He never fell out with any of his collaborators for not having given him more credit. Claiming co-authorship and sharing intellectual success was not a high priority on his agenda.

What *was* top of the agenda for Gayangos? Collaborations with Anglo-American represented a welcome outlet for his own research and ideas. Having discovered that he could not achieve certain things in Spain, he saw that he needed to go outside. From Ford to Stirling, all writers promoted the importance of Moorish Spain. Ford, by including accurate and concise information on all aspects:

architecture, history, etymology; Prescott through long chapters on the Morisco rebellion in *Philip II*, Stirling with his treatment of *Don John of Austria* where the importance of Moorish heritage was indicated. Equally, in Ticknor's *History*, Moorish culture is shown as an important part of old Spain.

What then are the consequences of all these collaborations, analysed here together for the first time? They raise questions about the nature of Anglo-American Hispanism and questions of authorship. An author is one who is "the originator, producer, or efficient cause of anything", thus authorship does not just refer to the writing up and production of text. The output of our four writers, whom Gayangos all outlived, are all the fruits of strong partnerships with him. Therefore they are not entirely their own. Ford's *Handbook*, Stirling's *Don John* and Ticknor's *History* all have Gayangos as the common denominator. We therefore need to develop a more measured view of these so-called fathers of Spanish studies. Thus, when Hart writes in *Spain in America* that nobody in America did more for Spanish literature than Ticknor, one now has to amplify, adding "and Gayangos". Gayangos should stand co-author to *Philip II*. Thus Gayangos is not only father of modern Arabism in Spain, a facet long acknowledged, but also of Spanish cultural studies in Britain and America.

Of course it is impossible to claim Gayangos' rights of authorship retrospectively. However, what this thesis asks for is a revision of our understanding of Hispanism in Britain and America. The appropriation of Spanish culture was *not* undertaken by British and American writers alone, but in close and systematic

collaboration with Gayangos, and to a lesser extent with other Spaniards. Only when seen together, these collaborations emerge as a consistent and vital force in the progress of Spanish studies in the English-speaking world. The collaborations with Ford, Prescott, Ticknor and Stirling here presented together for the first time, reveal how vital Gayangos was to the transformation of the Romantic attitude to Spain. It was a change which resulted in a more scholarly approach that included a critical revision of earlier writings and the unearthing and use of new primary material. Gayangos was not a peripheral figure, but an absolutely central one in the discovery of sources, material and production of books now considered landmarks in the historiography of Spanish studies in Britain and America.

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Tesoro de la Real Academia de la Historia, Palacio Real, Madrid, April-June 2001

Appendix A: Chronology 1809-1897

1809	21 June. Pascual de Gayangos y Arce is born in Seville. 22 June baptised at the Parish church of San Lorenzo. Parents: José Gayangos y Nebot ("natural de Valencia") and Francisca Arce y Retz ("natural de Barcelona")
1814	His father is appointed brigadier in Ferdinand VII's Artillery
1816	His father is appointed military governor ("intendente") of the province of Zacatecas in Mexico and leaves Spain. Gayangos and his mother stay in Spain
1820	Gayangos' father returns to Spain. The family resides in Madrid. Gayangos attends <i>Escuela Pías de los Escolapios</i> , and the <i>Reales Estudios de San Isidro</i> .
1822	Studies in France at the <i>Collège de Pont le Voy</i> , near Blois (Loire et Cher).
1823 - 1828	In Paris. Studies under the Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838). In 1827, he meets his future wife: Fanny Revell
1828	May: He marries Fanny Revell in London. Honeymoon in Spain, Aranjuez [1828/1829]
1829-30	Gayangos in Madrid during his wife's journey to Algeria for health reasons He attends classes of Arabic taught by the Jesuit father Artigas at the <i>Reales de Estudios de San Isidro</i> . Meets Serafín Estébanez Calderón
1830	26 July: Gayangos is civil servant at the Treasury in Málaga. Acquainted with the British, Dutch and Prussian Consuls.
1833	April: Appointed "Oficial nº 2 de Interpretación de lenguas del Ministerio de Estado", Madrid. Salary: 6000 reales Studies and translates manuscripts at the <i>Biblioteca Real del Palacio</i> . Commissioned to do an index of the mss. Arranges and classifies the collection of coins; describes the contents of the <i>Museo de Antigüedades</i> Visits the Escorial to study the collection of manuscripts.
1834	First article published in Britain: "Arabic Mss in Spain", <i>Westminster Review</i> . Father Artigas murdered (<i>Matanza de los Frailes</i>)
1835	Trip to Paris and London to visit Orientalist institutions in connection with the establishment of a University Chair of Arabic. Applies for the future Chair.
1836	Teaches Arabic in the <i>Ateneo Científico y Literario de Madrid</i> . These are the only classes of Arabic in the whole of Spain. Trip to Toledo with "Sothorn" and "Usoz" [Henry Southern (Secretary of the British Embassy in Madrid); and bibliophile Luis Usoz]. Takes detailed notes on architecture, inscriptions and libraries.
1837	January: Applies again for the future Chair of Arabic Obtains four months leave from his official position as interpreter to study Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial April: Gives up teaching at the <i>Ateneo</i> July: George Villiers (later Lord Clarendon) writes for Gayangos a letter of

	<p>introduction to Lord Holland</p> <p>Leaves Spain, escaping the Carlist war; helped by funds from his friend Estébanez Calderón. In London by September</p> <p>He starts working on a translation into English of the <i>al-Makkari</i> manuscript</p> <p>Becomes a regular guest at Holland House, where he meets important men of letters and politicians</p>
1838	<p>March: Oriental Translation Fund officially agrees to fund his translation of the <i>al-Makkari</i> (2 Guineas/translated sheet)</p> <p>June: Meets George Ticknor at Holland House</p> <p>18 August: Sits on the committee of the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS); again on 29 November</p> <p>First reviews for <i>The Athenaeum</i></p>
1839	<p>On RAS committee: 18 January, 7 March, 18 April, 3 May, 4 July, 22 August.</p> <p>First important articles: "Review of Ferdinand and Isabella" in <i>Edinburgh Review</i>, and "Languages and Literature of the Moriscos", <i>British and Foreign Review</i></p> <p>Starts writing for the <i>Penny Cyclopaedia</i> and the <i>Biographical Dictionary</i></p> <p>Correspondence and collaboration with Ticknor starts</p> <p>March: Requests advance (£40) from Oriental Translation Fund to finance research trip to Oxford</p> <p>Spends one month in Oxford visiting libraries, colleges and churches</p> <p>July: Moves to a new house in London at 9 Burton Crescent.</p> <p>October: unwell because of excess of work</p>
1840	<p>On RAS committee: 30 January, 17 June</p> <p>Collaboration with Prescott starts.</p> <p><i>The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain</i>, 1st volume published</p> <p>22 October: Death of Lord Holland</p> <p>In Spain: José Manuel Quintana supports Gayangos' candidature for the Chair of Arabic to be established at the University of Madrid; the Carlists defeated</p>
1841	<p>Collaboration with Richard Ford starts</p> <p>February–March: in Oxford, studying Arabic mss. in the Bodleian.</p> <p>Appointed correspondent member of the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i>, Madrid</p> <p>14 October: Appointed Vice-Consul in Tunis. But never takes up the position.</p> <p>On RAS committee: 25 February, 27 June, 31 December</p>
1842	<p>3rd edition of Prescott's <i>Ferdinand and Isabella</i>: mentions Gayangos in preface. Gayangos appointed Fellow and Member of the American Society of Arts and Sciences, Massachusetts.</p> <p>August: Gayangos in Oxford</p> <p>September: Gayangos for "a few days" in Cambridge; Birth of his second child</p> <p>October: Gayangos at Middle Hill, studying the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Working with a copyist between 11am and 4pm daily. He then goes to Suffolk for "family matters", then to Oxford. In London by 17</p>

	<p>October. On RAS committee: 21 October November: He buys a great part of a collection of Arabic and Turkish books for £35 December: His trip to Tunis delayed because of his printer's delay. "Spain" in <i>Penny Cyclopedia</i></p> <p><i>Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details fo the Alhambra, from drawings taken on the spot by Owen Jones [...], with a translation of the Arabic incriptions and a historical note by Gayangos. (Paid 10,000 reales)</i></p>
1843	<p>On RAS Committee: 8 March. The Oriental Translation Fund pays £60 for the 2nd vol. of <i>Mohammedan Dynasties</i>, and agrees to pay an additional £15 (for Gayangos' notes). In June, another £20 are paid. In total, he received £140 for the 2 vols.</p> <p>13 March: First Chair of Arabic created in Spain (University of Madrid) <i>The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain</i>, 2nd volume, published</p> <p>Travels to Spain, via Belgium and France. Research for Prescott and Ticknor. His wife stays in London 5 October: Gayangos appointed Professor of Arabic at Madrid. Salary: 20,000 reales per year From 1843 (?) until at least 1846: Providing the British Legation with "secret information of what was going on"</p>
1844	<p>January: Appointed "Académico Supernumerario" of the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i>, Madrid; taking his place on 6 April with his study "Crónica del Moro Rasis"</p> <p>January: Applies for a two month-leave to help his family with moving from London to Madrid. Granted in March. Leaves Moreno Nieto as his <i>sustituto</i>.</p> <p>February: Appointed member of the <i>Société Asiatique</i> (Paris) on recommendation of M. Reinaud and de Slane.</p> <p>March: Appointed Honorary Member of the <i>Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais</i>, Seville.</p> <p>May: His eldest child dies</p> <p>June – August: Research for Prescott in Simancas. Important findings for Prescott's <i>Philip II</i> and <i>Charles V</i></p>
1845	<p>Ford gives Gayangos his collection of coins Ford's <i>Handbook for Travellers in Spain</i>, London. Gayangos continues to collaborate with Ford for a second and third edition.</p>
1847	<p>Appointed <i>Numerario</i> de la Real Academia de la Historia Supports the creation of a Chair of Arabic at the University of Granada and Moreno Nieto as candidate 20 August: appointed <i>Catedrático de Término</i>. Salary: 24,000 reales</p>
1848	<p>Almost shot whilst undertaking research in the <i>Biblioteca Nacional</i> in Madrid; spends the summer in Pozuelo de Alarcón; plans trip to North Africa (Tangiers, Tetuan, Larache), applies for official protection. September: Travels to Seville, waiting for letter confirming protection 16 October: Arrives in Tanger (meets the British and the Spanish consul);</p>

	travelled on to Tetuan, and perhaps, Larache. Buys Arabic mss, books, coins, ceramics and other objects
1849	May: William Stirling (later Stirling-Maxwell) meets Gayangos in Madrid. Correspondence starts in July George Ticknor, <i>History of Spanish Literature</i> , 3 vols. December: Excursion to Alcalá and Guadalajara
1850	Research for Stirling begins. Prescott's son visits Gayangos in Madrid. Prescott visits Britain, Belgium and France in the Summer, but does not come to Spain. Starts translating and annotating Ticknor's <i>History</i>
1851	Coordinator of <i>Memorial Histórico Español</i> – published by the Academia de la Historia. Writes articles on Arabic inscriptions. June: Paris; July?- November: in London. Instructed by the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i> to take notes of the indexes and catalogues, with regards to historical Arabic documents important to Spain; and to purchase Marsden's <i>Numismata Orientalia</i> (1824). In contact with Ford, Stirling-Maxwell, Lockhart and others. Research for Prescott, Ticknor and Stirling in British libraries. Returns to Madrid, leaves his daughter behind (with the Adolphus family) December in Madrid Publishes first two volumes of his translation and annotation of Ticknor's <i>History: Historia de la Literatura Española</i> Commissioned by the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i> , secures important mss. from the monasteries of San Millan de la Cogolla y San Pedro de Cerdeña. Donates a series of historical documents to the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i> , which he had purchased shortly after the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1836.
1852	Consults mss in the <i>Academia de Ciencias</i> of Lisbon Tries to sell the <i>Historia de la Literatura Española</i> in Spain. June: Literary mission to La Coruña and Cáceres to collect manuscripts for the Real Academia de la Historia. July: Appointed corresponding member of the <i>Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Vienna. October: Appointed member of the <i>Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa</i> Publishes: <i>Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV</i> William Stirling, <i>The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the fifth</i> , London, 1852
1853	Before March, on 'literary mission' for the Real Academia de la Historia (Toledo, and elsewhere) June or July, he resides with his family in Aranjuez Appointed member of the archaeological society of Taragon: <i>Sociedad Arqueológica Tarragonense</i> Project to excavate Medina Az-zahrá (near Córdoba) funded by the Spanish government. Commission: Gayangos, Pedro Madrazo in Madrid. Local commission: Borja Pavón, José Saló, Ramón Aguilar Fernández

	<p>Publishes: "Leyes de moros", <i>Memorial Histórico Español</i>, V, 1853 Series of articles on Arabic inscriptions in <i>Memorial Histórico Español</i> Begins to write reviews for <i>Revista Española de Ambos Mundos</i></p>
1854	<p>Excavation project delayed. Gayangos and Pedro Madrazo supposed to report first results to the Ministro de Fomento before 15th March. Excavations delayed. Applies for his son José (11) to be admitted to the University (1st year: <i>filosofía</i>) Summer: Gayangos and Madrazo unable to travel to Córdoba due to the political circumstances (Battle of Vicálvaro, return of Espartero). <i>Historia de la Literatura Española</i>, vol. III</p>
1855	<p>Late January (or early February): Death of his wife 8 February–14 April: Travels to Andalucía: Leaves Madrid on 8 February. Travels to Cordoba, and via Lucena, Antequera, Loja, to Granada (24 March), then to Jaén, Úbeda, Baeza; (probably as part of commission of the to secure mss in provincial archives), back by 14 March. May: Applies for permission to leave for London. June: Travels via Paris to London; renews friendships, meets Thomas Wright, the Orientalist, lends him an Arabic ms.; visits Stirling in Keir in September; Publishes: Book reviews (Crónica literaria) in <i>Revista Española de Ambos Mundos</i></p>
1856	<p><i>Historia de la Literatura Española</i>, vol IV March–November: corresponds with Sir Thomas Phillipps regarding Spanish romances October: Appointed "<i>Membrum Reg. Academiae Historiator Hispan. Meritissimum</i>" - Stockholm Royal Academy. 26 December: Appointed correspondent of the <i>Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>. Participates in the creation of the <i>Escuela Diplomática</i></p>
1857	<p>Edition of several documents of the "najerías" of Granada, the "Benimerines", the "Hafsies" of Tunis and the "Zayyanitas" of Tremecen. <i>Memorial Histórico Español</i>, 1857, vol. X</p>
1858	<p>June to September: in London September: Returns to Madrid via Barcelona and Valencia. Prescott dies on 28 January, Ford dies on 31 August <i>La Gran Conquista de Ultramar que mandó escribir el rey Don Alfonso el Sabio ilustrada con notas críticas y un glosario por Don Pascual de Gayangos</i>, <i>Biblioteca de Autores Españoles</i>, Madrid Participates in the creation of the <i>Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Anticuarios</i></p>
1859	<p>Prescott's secretary returns the last of the books that Prescott had for so long</p>
1861	<p>Seville. July: Marques de Cabriñana consults Gayangos on historical subjects (battle of Lucena).</p>
1862	<p>London: 6 July – 15 September Salary increase from 26,000 to 28,000 reales per year for his professorship at the University of Madrid.</p>

	<p>Publishes: "Del Palmerín de Inglaterra y de su verdadero autor, in <i>Revista de España</i>, no 2° and 3, Madrid, 1862</p>
1863	<p>Madrid. March: Responds to enquiries of the Marqués de Cabriñana In London for 6 months. Research for mss in British Library September. Correspondence begins with Francisco Codera, professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Lérida. Madrid: 15 June: Marriage of his daughter to Juan Facundo Riaño By August in London. Returns to Madrid in the autumn?</p>
1864	<p>August in London. Departs on 23 August for Paris, stays till September in Paris. October: back in Madrid Gayangos' friend Valentin Carderera left for Huesca because of cholera epidemic in Madrid</p>
1865	<p>In June and October 1865 Gayangos is correcting Stirling-Maxwell's proofs for <i>Don John of Austria</i></p>
1866	<p>12 June: Elected Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Italy in September and October. He went to Florence, Milan, Turin, Rome, Orvieto Pisa, Siena, but was unable to go to Venice. Published: <i>Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortes al Emperador Carlos V</i>, Paris, 1866</p>
1867	<p>Seville in May: Research at the Columbina library. Plans to go back to Madrid on 1st June and wants to spend the summer in London to "search the British Museum Mss". London (from at least 14 September), meets Frederick Cosens, and W.C. Hazlitt. 7 November: He approaches the Trustees of the BM with a proposal for a Catalogue of Spanish Mss.</p>
1868	<p>Madrid January. Sends a draft for the <i>Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts</i> to the British Museum. 15 March: Commissioned by the Ministerio de Ultramar to search mss. in relation to Spain's colonies, including in British libraries Leaves Madrid for Seville by mid-March. Makes a list of mss. and books at the Columbina library, Seville. Plans to go to London in May. London till December. Meets Cosens and Hazlitt again <i>The Fifth Letter of Hernan Cortes to the Emperor Charles V... Translated from the Original Spanish by Don Pascual de Gayangos</i>. London, printed for the Hakluyt Society. Begins to edit many other historical manuscripts of the Golden Age</p>
1869	<p>Gayangos is still in London in January, returns to Madrid by February. Appointed to continue Bergenroth's <i>Calendar of State paper</i> producing 650 pp/ year for £400/year. October: Invited to opening of Suez Canal. Applies for permission to leave. November(?)-December: "working upon the British Museum mss", London Published: Pedro de Ayala: <i>El libro de la Caza</i> in <i>Colección de Bibliófilos Españoles</i>, Madrid, 1869.</p>
1870	<p>3 January: leaves London for Madrid, but intends to be back in London in</p>

	March. 5 October: Appointed corresponding member of the University of Chile.
1871	<i>La Lozana Andaluza</i> (1528) reedited in Madrid. Preface claims that Gayangos had discovered this rare book and identified its author. Retires from his professorship at the University of Madrid Recommended by the Academia de la Historia for the Gran Cruz de la Orden Civil de María Victoria (however, not achieved because of the abdication of Amadeo de Saboya) Now spends more time in London (6 months) than in Madrid (3 months/year) In London by August
1873	Spanish representative at the International Congress of Orientalists in St. Petersburg
1875	Returns from Madrid to London some time after February: Starts to collaborate with John Forster on the <i>Chronicle of James of Aragon</i> . <i>Catalogue of the Spanish MSS in the British Museum</i> – 1 st volume published
1876	Contact with Henry Spencer Ashbee: Gayangos sends from Madrid a copy of <i>La Lozana Andaluza</i> (ed.1871) to Ashbee Writes for <i>The Saturday Review</i>
1877	November-December: Gayangos presents Francisco Codera's coins for sale to the British Museum
1878	John Forster dies and Gayangos finishes the translation of the <i>Chronicles of James I</i> . Death of Stirling. May: The British Museum purchases through Gayangos 125 Spanish coins
1879 - 1880	Occasional articles/reviews in <i>St. James Gazette</i> , <i>The Academy</i> and <i>The Times</i>
1881	Appointed Director of Public Education, but resigns to occupy a position in the Senate (Senador del Reino por la Academia de la Historia y de la Junta Facultativa del Cuerpo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos) September: obtains the <i>Gran Cruz de la Orden Militar Portuguesa</i>
1883	<i>Don John of Austria</i> , by Stirling published posthumously.
1888-1889	Reviews non-Spanish books for <i>El Ateneo</i>
1893	<i>Catalogue of the Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum</i> , IV
1895	Sale of his oriental collection to the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i> : 300-400 mss. and 1000 printed volumes. In addition: donation of 107 printed volumes and some manuscripts
1897	4 October. Dies after a street accident on 28 September in London. Buried in the St. Mary's Catholic Cemetery, London
1899	Donation by Emilia Gayangos to the <i>Real Academia de la Historia</i> of 192 manuscript and printed volumes, and correspondence
1900	Purchase of his collection of manuscripts and printed volumes (in Castilian) by the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
1903	His son-in-law, J. F. Riaño deposits more papers in the <i>Academia</i>

Appendix B: Letter to Henry Bulwer

Unpublished letter from Gayangos to Henry Bulwer, British ambassador in Madrid, dated 2 September 1844, Madrid; (BL, Add. 43146, f. 389; a draft of this letter is amongst the Gayangos papers at the RAH):

Dear Sir,

I have not written to you lately, as I was not aware of your being so long absent, nor had I much to tell you, as both progresistas and conservadores are only occupied in collecting their forces for the [approaching] contest. As far as I can judge, the former do not intend to dispute the elections or show themselves as candidates, thinking thereby to attack the legality of the present government. Their utmost efforts will be directed towards introducing division in the ranks of their adversaries and returning as many Carlists and Absolutistas as they possibly can. They calculate that, if once they succeed in identifying the cause of the Moderados with that of the Carlists the victory shall be theirs. On the other hand, the Carlists are more insolent than ever. At Malaga, Burgos, Toledo and other places the authorities have been obliged to make a display of force against them and it is seriously apprehended that the elections shall not pass without riots. You are perhaps aware that a document bearing, [it is said], the signature of Don Carlos is in existence, in which the Pretender promises in the name of his son to make no alteration whatever in the form of government, and calls upon all Spaniards to bring about the marriage of his eldest son with Queen Isabella. Among the advantages to result from the match the document points out the recognition of the young Queen by the Northern powers, which, it is added, could not otherwise be obtained. It is also stated therein that no other match can be effected, since England objects to its being one of the sons of Louis Philippe, and the Pope will not grant the dispensation required for a match with [Irapani], or one of the sons of the Infant Don Francisco. I know positively that a Carlist agent has made propositions to Carriquiri, Salamanca and other influential persons. The other day the same individual called upon our friend Juan de la Concha, and after pouring all manner of abuse on General Narvaez asked him whether in case of some regiments declaring for the aforesaid marriage they could rely upon his taking the command of them. As you may imagine, such propositions have been received with contempt by the persons above named, but it is nevertheless a fact that others not so scrupulous have promised their assistance.

Ministers are doing nothing. Mon¹¹⁰⁴ says that he has a plan to arrange the Spanish Finances, but he requires a whole year to put into practice his wonderful panacea. Pidal passes his time in frivolous details and I am told that Narvaez' patience is well [...] exhausted. He has more than once shown his dissatisfaction at the inactivity of the two Asturian friends. Mayans is the only one, who works hard, chiefly in the ecclesiastical department of his office. Castillo writes from Rome that he has found

¹¹⁰⁴ Alejandro Mon (1801-82) was an Asturian Moderate politician. In 1844, he was Narváez' finance minister and his "greatest representative of administrative reform". He introduced a uniform tax system for the whole of Spain. His system was the basis of the Spanish budget for the whole of the nineteenth century. See CARR, *Spain 1808-1939*, 1966, pp.235-6

His Holiness the Pope more inexorable than he imagined, as he asks for nothing short of the reestablishment of things upon the same footing that they were in 1830, before the revolution broke out. A serious question is now about to be decided which will in a great measure point out the march about to be followed by the present government with respect to Rome. I mean the [Wolfanger] affair at Toledo which the See of that town pretends to consult directly with the Pope without the intervention of Government. I hold from good authority that a council of Ministers was held last week to consider the propriety of returning to the secular clergy their sold property. All those who had made purchases, but had not paid down more than the two first instalments, were to have their money returned, whilst those who had paid down the whole were to receive an annual percentage for their money. All property bought from the Nuns now also to be comprised in the measure. It appears, however, that Ministers have come to the determinations of leaving the question to be settled by the next Cortes, which if we are to judge from the lists of candidates in the provinces, will afford such a variety of political colours and difference of opinion, as to render it very difficult to say at present, whether the government will obtain or not the vote of confidence, which they are to apply for in the first instance.

The day before yesterday a scene took place at the palace, which though it is kept secret was reported to Nar. who told it to Sal. with sundry embellishments and will show you what is the state of feelings of the Queen Mother.¹¹⁰⁵ It appears that without any apparent reason or cause, she left her room in a state of great agitation with her hair loose and her eyes in tears, calling herself a sinner, and entered the apartment of her daughter, who began also to cry and fainted. Before she started to Valencia, similar scenes were of very common occurrence, especially whenever she shut herself up with her confessor Father Mareos, so much so that she was thought by some to be out of her mind, and that Mareos was secretly ordered out of the country. Her present confessor (el Patriarca de las Indias) is a man of good sense and by no means such a [zealot] as his predecessor.¹¹⁰⁶

Fernando Muñoz has been at Bagnères and even at Bayonne for about a month, and Salamanca was to have started to hold a conference with him, to what purpose I could not learn. He is now gone to Paris. Vega told me that he was in Barcelona for two or three days before the Queen's departure for Tarragona.

It is proper that you should know that General Narvaez has expressed himself in the highest terms about you, and said that he would write you a letter of thanks for your honourable and straightforward conduct in the Gibraltar affair. It is his intention to give you some testimonial in the Queen's name and Sal. asked me whether a grand cross would not be acceptable. I said that English Ministers could not accept foreign orders, but that I would let you know.

This is all I have to say for the present, I shall write again soon.

¹¹⁰⁵ "Nar." refers to Ramón María Narváez (1799-1868), the military leader of the Moderates, who had become prime minister. His two important ministries were those of May 1844 to February 1846 and October 1847 to January 1851. See CARR, 1966, pp.237-8

"Sal." refers to José Salamanca (Marquis of), an Andalusian financier and Progressive politician. His fortune was created by speculation in the borderlands of public and private finance. His political relationships gave him the Salt Monopoly, a vast field of private patronage, which yielded huge profits. By 1845 he had become an influential politician and was using his inside knowledge to speculate in government securities. See CARR, 1966, pp.280-1

¹¹⁰⁶ 'Isabela was considered a frivolous woman', whose sexual guilt may have put her at the mercy of her confessor's and her husband's clericalism. CARR, 1966, pp.211-212

Believe me, Dear Sir

Very truly yours

P de G.